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1948

Twenty-second National Convention

Socialist Labor Party

May 1-May 3, 1948

Minutes, Reports, Platform, Resolutions, Etc.

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EDWARD A. TEICHERT
Socialist Labor Party Candidate For President, 1948

I claim that the workers who have brought about the greatest productive machine in all history can also establish a society wherein security, peace and plenty shall reign. Blocking the path to future progress is the private ownership of the means of wealth production. The Socialist Labor Party in this campaign calls upon the working class to contest the right of ownership on the civilized plane of the ballot. Every vote cast for the candidates of the Socialist Labor Party....is a protest against a social system that now breeds poverty, insecurity and war.... Our class must organize Socialist Industrial Unions for the purpose of taking over all the means of production and distribution and of continuing their operation in the interest of all of society. Once this has been done, our class will enjoy peace and plenty.

STEPHEN EMERY
Socialist Labor Party Candidate for Vice President, 1948

Many parties are seeking your votes. Many promises are being made to win your support at the polls. Only ONE party deserves your support. That party—the Socialist Labor Party—makes no promises.

I and the other candidates of the Socialist Labor Party do not pretend that, if elected to political office, we could improve your conditions or solve your problems. No set of men can utilize the political State to banish poverty and depression, war and reaction.

Poverty, depression, war and reaction are effects of the capitalist system. These evils will remain while capitalism exists.

Workers, repudiate the parties that stand for the reform and preservation of capitalism! YOU ALONE, united politically and industrially on Socialist lines, can be the architects of a better world!

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Socialist Labor Party

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National Executive Committee
Socialist Labor Party
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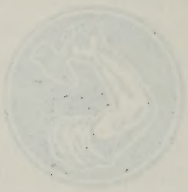

(Printed in the United States of America)

Opening Address of National Secretary Arnold Petersen at the 22nd National Convention, Socialist Labor Party

The national convention of the Socialist Labor Party, which is about to begin its deliberations for the 1948 national campaign, and to take measures for the strengthening and building up of our Party, meets under conditions and circumstances that in many respects recall the great historic and turbulent year of 1848. Now, as then, there is universal unrest; now, as then, old forms are breaking up and new ones are taking shape; now, as then, the rulers and masses alike stand bewildered in the presence of processes that few of them as yet understand, except that in 1948 the scene of the turbulence is global, and not just confined to old Europe; now, as then, decisions are made that for generations to come may fatedly determine the course of human and social events, and presently, with all avenues of retreat barred, save only that dark alley which may lead us all back to an imperialist barbarism. And now, as then, men's hopes, alternately mingled with despair, are set high, but with an as yet unrecognized, or only partially understood, compass by which to guide hopes and aspirations. That compass, that great mariner's chart, hurled amidst the roaring revolutionary waves of the times, is the immortal "Communist Manifesto," flung 100 years ago as a challenge to rulers and ruled alike in the prevailing social order, or disorder—the peremptory Marxian challenge to class- and privilege-ridden capitalism, a challenge the implications of which are the ending of exploitation and slavery for now and for all time.

Revolutions broke out in that great year a century ago in almost every quarter of Europe, most of them violent, some, very few, attended by only minor disorders. Frightened out of their wits, crowned and uncrowned rulers bent their heads before the storm, most of them all but breaking their necks in their feverish haste to grant so-called liberal constitutions. The Vatican, with its satellites, was caught in the raging storm, as it is caught today, as badly as, if not worse than, the other despots, with the Jesuits, crafty and unscrupulous intriguers, being expelled from places where they had entrenched themselves and, as always, making themselves as obnoxious as their policies and practices were abhorrent. The great tidal wave of revolution flowed on, reached its crest, and then receded. A new chapter in the bloody history of capitalism had begun. And the modern revolutionary working class movement was born, and received its baptism.

We are now witnessing the oncoming of a new tidal wave of

revolution, not yet at its crest, but steadily rising. And this wave will not recede until it washes out with it every vestige of barbarism, of poverty, slavery and war, which class-ridden capitalism bred and breeds. And when that tide does recede, if the working class rises full-statured to fulfill its historic mission, the tide will leave behind it peaceful green valleys of freedom, of plenty and contentment, and glittering mountain domes beckoning and calling to man's eternal craving for new summits to attain, for new worlds to conquer—the world of the deeper spirit and the finer intellect, the world of the nobler brotherhood and the truer life, in determined quest of adventure in the realm of the sciences, of greater knowledge and understanding of the universe, of all the alluring arts of peace.

But meanwhile we are confronted with this seething social tempest in a worn-out system of capitalism that cannot live, and yet does not know how, decently and honorably, to die. Ruling class elements are exploring backroads to reaction; Fascism and Stateism are rearing their ugly heads everywhere, but especially so in this land of great promise and noble revolutionary traditions. Fascism, which the global war was supposed to have destroyed; Stateism, which the capitalist class professedly abhors, but in which they more and more, willy-nilly, seek refuge in their desperate resistance to extinction. False issues are injected, false cries are raised, designed to confuse and confound the masses, and under cover of which ruling classes seek to retreat to strongly entrenched positions, there to meet the coming storm. They tell us the issue is "free enterprise" and democracy, and this in a setting where there is no "free enterprise," where there can be none, and where every poisoned breath of capitalism is fast destroying what is left of democracy and democratic processes. They tell us, with lying tongue, that Fascism is the child of Marxism, thus disowning capitalism's own ugly offspring, while slandering the only true form of democracy of our age. And at times they name Stalinism as the father of Fascism, thereby seeking to achieve the double purpose of disowning their own and of fastening guilt on a hated class rule rival. It was Winston Churchill who recently, in his published memoirs, declared that "Fascism was the shadow or ugly child of Communism," meaning thereby to blame Marxism and Stalinism alike. If Churchill meant that Fascism was the "ugly child" of Marxism, then never was greater falsehood uttered. If one may venture an offhand definition of Fascism and Stalinism, then it might be said that Fascism is the legitimate offspring of decayed and decadent capitalism, whereas Stalinism is the bastard offspring of feudo-capitalism, of an aborted Socialist revolution in an only partly developed capitalist country, presently with few if any of the virtues of normal capitalism, but with most of its vices. No, Fascism belongs on the doorstep of the Churchills—

let the Churchills keep the ugly brat.

There is much talk about a "third party" as this national campaign is being ushered in. The term "third party" is a misnomer. There is no such animal. There are but two parties in the field—the party of capitalism, with its Tafts, Stassens, Trumans, Wallaces, its would-be liberals, its Thomases and Stalinettes; and, opposed to them, the party of the working class, the Socialist Labor Party. As we enter this campaign, it is now as it ever was, the *Socialist Labor Party against the field.* De Leon once said: "That which is opposed by all the forces of capitalism is the Socialist Labor Party. And the Marxist, working class nature of our Party explains all and everything that opposes us. And so we repeat: *It is the Socialist Labor Party against the field.* Let there be no mistake about that. And let us proclaim this patent fact throughout the length and breadth of the land, let there be no pulling of punches in the heat of the combat, and let the clarion notes of Marxism, of conquering De Leonism, resound through the strident notes rising from the ruling class camp, wherever they may be. and whatever they may be calling themselves. There is a battle to be fought, there is a war to be won. Each man to his post, and each post a center of attack against the capitalist robberburg, and a rallying point for the forces of freedom and working class emancipation.

And now, let us get down to the business of the day and the occasion. I now, in behalf of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party, call this, the twenty-second national convention of our Party to order, and declare it to be in session.

THE 22nd NATIONAL CONVENTION

of the

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

Minutes of the Proceedings of the Convention

Morning Session, Saturday, May 1

Convention called to order at 11:30 a.m., by National Secretary Arnold Petersen, at the Cornish Arms Hotel, New York City, with the following address: (see WEEKLY PEOPLE, May 15, page 1.)

John P. Quinn, of Massachusetts, was elected temporary chairman.

James Sim, of Michigan, was elected temporary vice chairman.

Aaron M. Orange, of New York, elected temporary recording secretary.

A Credentials Committee was elected as follows: N. Karp (New York), H. Steiner (California), T. Gramaticoff (Bulgarian S.L.F.).

A recess of 10 minutes was declared to permit the Credentials Committee to examine the credentials of the delegates and report.

Called to order at 12:08 p.m.

The Credentials Committee reported that the following states and Federations are entitled to representation at the 22nd National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party, and credentials from the following delegates reported received:

California, 2 delegates, Herbert Steiner, Robert W. Long.

Colorado, 1 delegate, Alex Merson.

Connecticut, 1 delegate, Joseph Mackay.

District of Columbia, 1 delegate, Isidor Bickweat.

Illinois, 1 delegate, Frank Schnur.

Indiana, 1 delegate, Herman N. Simon.

Massachusetts, 2 delegates, John P. Quinn, Horace I. Hillis.

Michigan, 1 delegate, James Sim.

Minnesota, 1 delegate, Edna Dolphin.

Missouri, 1 delegate, Clara Hayes.

New Jersey, 1 delegate, John C. Butterworth.

New York, 4 delegates, Louis D. Cohen, Nathan Karp, Eric Hass, Aaron M. Orange.

Ohio, 2 delegates, Louis P. Wettstein, Arla A. Albaugh.

Oregon, 1 delegate, Carl V. Soderback.

Pennsylvania, 1 delegate, Edward A. Teichert.

Washington, 1 delegate, Theo. Bossie.

Wisconsin, 1 delegate, Georgia Cozzini.

Bulgarian S.L.F., 4 delegates, Theo. Baeff, Theo. Gramaticoff, D.

D. Dobreff, Vasil Elieff, alternate, serving in place of S. Sterioff, the regularly elected delegate, who was unable to serve.

Hungarian S.L.F., 1 delegate, Margaret K. Lipicky.

South Slavonian S.L.F., 3 delegates, L. Petrovich, P. Slepcevich, B. Radov, alternate, serving in place of L. Stefanovich, the regularly elected delegate, who was unable to serve.

The Credentials Committee reported receipt of credentials of Fraternal Delegate Harold Rowbottom, Canadian Socialist Labor Party, and reported further that Comrade Rowbottom had not yet arrived.

The committee recommended that the foregoing delegates to the convention be seated. On motion, the report of the committee was concurred in.

On motion, the following officers were made permanent for the day: John P. Quinn (Massachusetts), chairman; James Sim (Michigan), vice chairman.

On motion, the temporary recording secretary, Aaron M. Orange (New York), was elected permanent recording secretary for the duration of the convention.

Sophie Blume was appointed assistant recording secretary, for the duration of the convention.

John Emanuel was appointed permanent sergeant at arms; Paul Herzel was appointed his assistant.

On motion, the following Order of Business and Rules was adopted:

A

1. Organization.
   (a) Election of chairman, vice chairman and secretary.
   (b) Election of permanent sergeant at arms and a messenger.
2. Election of Committee on Mileage (2).
3. Report of the National Executive Committee.
4. Report of the Editor of the WEEKLY PEOPLE.
5. Election of Committee on Constitution and Resolutions Pertaining Thereto (3).
6. Election of Committee on Platform and Resolutions Pertaining Thereto (3).
7. Election of Committee on Internal Disturbances and Grievances (3).
8. Election of Auditing Committee (2).
9. Election of Committee on Party Press and Literature (3).
10. Election of Committee on International Relations (3).
11. Election of Committee on General Agitation (3).
12. Election of National Campaign Committee (3).
13. Roll call of delegates for the introduction of resolutions for reference to the committees.
14. Adjournment—5 p.m.

B

The following Order of Business for each day *after* the first day:

1. Election of chairman.

2. Roll call of delegates.
3. Reading of minutes.
4. Communications.
5. Reports of committees and action thereon.
6. Unfinished business.
7. New business.
8. Last half-hour of each afternoon session to be devoted to the receiving of resolutions to be read and referred to the appropriate committees.
9. Morning sessions from 10 a.m. to 12 m. Afternoon sessions from 1:30 p.m. to 6 p.m. Evening sessions if necessary.

C

1. Nomination of candidates for United States President and Vice President, 3 p.m., second day of convention.
2. Election of Committee on Vacancy, following nominations for President and Vice President.
3. Election of National Secretary, second day of the convention.
4. Election of Editor of the WEEKLY PEOPLE, second day of the convention.
5. Report of Committee on Platform, second day of the convention, immediately following election of officers.
6. Reports of delegates, last day of the convention.

On motion, a Committee on Mileage was elected as follows: Joseph Mackay, Connecticut; Herman N. Simon, Indiana.

On motion, J. Braunstein was appointed messenger for the duration of the convention.

On motion, the convention adjourned at 12:25 p.m., to reconvene for the afternoon session at 1:30 p.m.

Afternoon Session, Saturday, May 1

The convention was called to order by Chairman Quinn at 1:40 p.m.

The Credentials Committee reported the arrival of Harold Rowbottom, fraternal delegate of the Canadian Socialist Labor Party, and recommended that he be seated. On motion, recommendation concurred in.

On roll call all delegates present, with the exception of Arla A. Albaugh, of Ohio, who arrived late.

The National Secretary began the reading of the report of the N.E.C. to the convention at 1:45 p.m.

On suggestion of the National Secretary, the reports of the Language Federations were laid over to the reports of delegates.

A recess was declared at 3:05 p. m.

Call to order at 3:10 p.m.

The National Secretary resumed reading of the N.E.C. report.

At 4:15 p.m., on motion, it was decided to hear the report of the Mileage Committee.

The Committee on Mileage reported a total mileage of $2,046.41, and

recommended that this amount be paid to the various delegates. On motion, concurred in, payment to be made after adjournment.

National Secretary proceeded with the reading of the N.E.C. report, until 4:55 p.m.

On motion, convention adjourned at 5 p.m., to reconvene 10 a.m., Sunday, May 2.

Morning Session, Sunday, May 2

Convention called to order at 10:15 a.m. by John P. Quinn.

When it was noted that a number of delegates had not yet arrived, on motion it was decided to recess and reconvene not later than 10:30 a.m.

Called to order at 10:20 a.m.

On motion, Nathan Karp, New York, was elected chairman for the day, and H. Steiner, California, vice chairman.

On roll call, all present with the exception of H. N. Simon (Indiana), H. I. Hillis (Massachusetts), D. D. Dobreff (Bulgarian S.L.F.), who arrived shortly after roll call.

In the absence of the sergeant at arms, L. Parachini was appointed temporary sergeant at arms.

Minutes of the session, May 1, were adopted as read.

The National Secretary resumed the reading of the report of the N.E.C.

At 12 noon, a motion carried to dispense with the rules to hear the remainder of the report of the N.E.C.

At the conclusion of the reading of the section "In Memoriam," the convention was called upon to rise in silent tribute to the departed comrades.

The National Secretary concluded the reading of the report at 12:40 p.m.

On motion, report accepted and referred to appropriate committees.

On motion, the rules were suspended and it was decided to elect a Committee on Platform and Resolutions Pertaining Thereto. The following were elected: H. N. Simon (Indiana), H. Steiner (California), E. Hass (New York).

On motion, adjourned at 12:45 p.m., to reconvene at 1:45 p.m.

Afternoon Session, Sunday, May 2

Convention called to order at 2 p.m.

On roll call, all delegates present except E. A. Teichert (Pennsylvania), who reported late.

The chairman announced that the Committee on Platform and Resolutions Pertaining Thereto (of which E. Hass is a member) had requested time to complete its report, and, on suggestion of the chairman, a motion carried to defer the reading of the Editor's Report and proceed with the next order of business.

On motion, the following committees were elected:

Committee on Constitution and Resolutions Pertaining Thereto: J. P. Quinn (Massachusetts), F. Schnur (Illinois), J. Sim (Michigan).

Committee on Internal Disturbances and Grievances: N. Karp (New

York), L. Petrovich (South Slavonian S.L.F.), T. Gramaticoff (Bulgarian S.L.F.).

Committee on Party Press and Literature: R. W. Long (California), G. Cozzini (Wisconsin), E. Hass (New York).

Committee on International Relations: T. Baeff (Bulgarian S. L. F.), D. D. Dobreff (Bulgarian S.L.F.), L. Petrovich (South Slavonian S.L.F.).

Committee on General Agitation: A. A. Albaugh (Ohio), J. Mackay (Connecticut), H. Steiner (California).

Committee on National Campaign: L. D. Cohen (New York), J. Sim (Michigan), F. Schnur (Illinois).

Auditing Committee: L. P. Wettstein (Ohio), P. Slepcevich (South Slavonian S.L.F.).

On roll call, the following delegates introduced resolutions:

R. W. Long (California):

1. On constitutional amendment requiring two-thirds vote for closing or limiting debate. On motion, referred to Committee on Constitution and Resolutions Pertaining Thereto.

2. On changing the name of the WEEKLY PEOPLE to "Socialist Labor Press." On motion, referred to Committee on Party Press and Literature.

3. Re reference in the pamphlet "High Cost of Living" (and wherever else it may appear in the Party's literature) to the prices of commodities being *determined* by the fluctuations between supply and demand: proposing the word "determined" be changed to "influenced." On motion, referred to Committee on Party Press and Literature.

4. On supplying delegates with copies of the N.E.C. Report to the National Convention sufficiently in advance of the convention for study. Motion to refer to committee lost.

J. P. Quinn (Massachusetts):

Amendment to Article XIII, Section 10, Party Constitution, re members accepting minor offices in unions. On motion, referred to Committee on Constitution and Resolutions Pertaining Thereto.

J. Sim (Michigan):

Re participating in non-partisan elections. On motion, referred to Committee on General Agitation.

E. Dolphin (Minnesota):

Re changes in study class application. On motion, referred to Committee on Constitution and Resolutions Pertaining Thereto.

On motion, recess of 10 minutes declared at 2:35 p.m.

Called to order at 2:58 p.m.

On motion by John P. Quinn (Massachusetts), seconded by James Sim (Michigan), Edward A. Teichert, of Pennsylvania, was unanimously nominated by the convention as the candidate for President of the United States.

On motion by Eric Hass (New York), seconded by Louis D. Cohen (New York), Stephen Emery, of New York, was unanimously nominated

by the convention as the candidate for Vice President of the United States.

On motion by J. P. Quinn (Massachusetts), seconded by Louis D. Cohen (New York), Arnold Petersen was unanimously reelected National Secretary by a rising vote.

On motion by J. Sim (Michigan), seconded by H. N. Simon (Indiana), Eric Hass was unanimously reelected Editor of the WEEKLY PEOPLE.

On motion, the rules were suspended to hear addresses of acceptance by the candidates; and the Party's national officers were also called upon.

On motion, the Sub-Committee of the National Executive Committee was appointed the Committee on Vacancy.

Report of the Committee on Platform (E. Hass, N.Y., reporting):

The proposed National Platform for 1948 was read in its entirety. On motion, the platform was placed before the convention for action on each paragraph seriatim. On motion, the following paragraphs were amended: #4, #14, #17 (which was also divided into two paragraphs), #19, #35, #29. On motion, the National Platform of 1948 as a whole was unanimously adopted.

At this point, E. A. Teichert was excused to meet with the press.

At 4:55 p.m. a 5-minute recess was declared.

Eric Hass rendered his report as Editor of the WEEKLY PEOPLE. On motion, the report was accepted.

The following proposed resolutions were received, and referred to the committees as indicated:

1. On Economic Organization of Labor, to Committee on Constitution and Resolutions Pertaining Thereto.
2. On the Ballot, to Committee on National Campaign.
3. On Militarism, to Committee on Platform and Resolutions Pertaining Thereto.
4. On American Imperialism, to Committee on Platform and Resolutions Pertaining Thereto.
5. On Russian State Despotism, to Committee on International Relations.
6. On the Church in Politics, to Committee on International Relations.
7. On International Socialism, to Committee on International Relations.
8. On Outlawing the Communist Party, to Committee on Platform and Resolutions Pertaining Thereto.
9. On A Call to Action, to Committee on General Agitation.
10. On the Threat of a Third World War, to Committee on International Relations.

Additional resolutions were submitted by the following delegates:

E. Dolphin (Minnesota):

Re amending Study Class Application Blank. On motion, referred to Committee on Constitution and Resolutions Pertaining Thereto.

B. Radov (South Slavonian S.L.F.):

Re supplying to Party members copies of National Convention Proceedings (beginning with the 22nd National Convention) without charge.

On motion, referred to Committee on Constitution and Resolutions Pertaining Thereto.

G. Cozzini (Wisconsin):

Re amending Party Constitution (Art. II, Sec. 33 (b)), prohibiting fraternization with expelled disrupters. On motion, referred to Committee on Constitution and Resolutions Pertaining Thereto.

On motion by James Sim (Michigan), a collection for the WEEKLY PEOPLE was taken, which totaled $161.61, including $75 from the Weekly People Club of Los Angeles.

On motion, the convention adjourned at 5:45 p.m., to reconvene Monday, May 3, at 10 a.m.

Morning Session, Monday, May 3.

Called to order at 10:15 a.m. by N. Karp.

On motion, Nathan Karp (New York) was elected chairman, and Theo. Gramaticoff (Bulgarian S.L.F.), vice chairman, for the day.

On roll call, all delegates were present.

The minutes of the session of Sunday, May 2, were adopted as read.

The chairman called attention to the fact that the resolution on changing the name of the WEEKLY PEOPLE (introduced by R. W. Long, California) was referred to the Committee on Party Press and Literature in error. Since the Party Constitution provides for the name of the official organ of the Party, the resolution should have been referred to the Committee on Constitution and Resolutions Pertaining Thereto. On motion, laid over until after the report of the Committee on Party Press and Literature.

The National Secretary informed the convention of the sudden death of the Editor of *Rabotnicheska Prosveta,* D. Anastasoff, and on motion the resolution drafted by the National Secretary was read. On motion, the resolution was adopted by a rising vote.

Resolution on the death of Comrade D. Anastasoff, Editor of *Rabotnicheska Prosveta.*

Whereas, The sad and shocking news of the sudden death of Comrade D. Anastasoff, Editor of our Bulgarian Party organ, *Rabotnicheska Prosveta,* has reached this convention, and

Whereas, Comrade D. Anastasoff was a loyal member and a sturdy and able upholder of the Socialist Labor Party, its principles, tactics and program, and

Whereas, Comrade D. Anastasoff performed his duties as Party Editor faithfully and intelligently, virtually dying at his post; be it hereby

Resolved, That this 22nd National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party deeply mourns the passing of this truly loyal and capable member of the Party, and be it further

Resolved, That this convention extends its fraternal sympathy to the Comrades of the Bulgarian Socialist Labor Federation in the great loss they have sustained, and be it finally

Resolved, That copy of these resolutions be spread on the minutes of

this convention, and that copies be sent to the Bulgarian Socialist Labor Federation and to the Party press.

Reports of Committees

Committee on Constitution and Resolutions Pertaining Thereto (J. Sim, Michigan, reporting):

Recommended concurrence in the following amendments proposed in the report of the N.E.C.:

1. Art. II, Sec. 12. On motion, concurred in.

2. Art. IV, new Section 14. On motion, concurred in.

3. (a) Art II, Sec. 17. On motion, adopted the following amendment: Add the words "at time of application" after the word "applicant" in the 6th line from bottom of page 8, the sentence to read:

"A copy of the Constitution and Platform of the Party shall be handed to every applicant, *at the time of application.*"

(b) New question 3 to be added to Membership Application Blanks (and subsequent questions to be renumbered). On motion, concurred in.

4. Art. II, Sec. 22. On motion, recommitted.

5. Article II, Sec. 23, new clause "a." On motion, concurred in.

6. Article II, Sec. 29. On motion, concurred in.

7. Art. II, Sec. 30. On motion, concurred in.

8. Art. II, Sec. 34. On motion, concurred in.

9. Art. III, Sec. 4. On motion, concurred in.

10. Art. III, Sec. 5. On motion, concurred in with the following change: In clause "c" "*the* committee" be changed to "*such a* committee." And similar changes to be made in the other clauses.

11. Art. XII, Sec. 4. On motion, concurred in.

12. The committee recommended that all new sections added to the constitution be placed after the present last section of respective articles, to avoid renumbering of sections. On motion, approved.

13. The committee recommended amending the constitution by adding a new Section 12 to Article XIII, as follows:

"The chairman shall not cast his vote to produce a tie when the vote is other than by roll call or ballot. When, however, a tie is produced without the chairman having voted on the question, the chairman may then cast the deciding vote."

On motion, concurred in.

14. On the resolution submitted by B. Radov (South Slavonian S.L.F.) re providing National Convention Proceedings free to Party members, the Committee recommended non-concurrence. On motion, concurred in.

15. On the resolution submitted by R. Long (California) re requiring two-thirds vote to limit or close debate, the committee recommended non-concurrence. On motion, concurred in.

On motion, the convention adjourned at 12:09 p.m., to reconvene at 1:30 p.m.

Afternoon Session, Monday, May 3

Convention called to order at 1:40 p.m.

On roll call, all delegates present.

The National Secretary recommended that a telegram conveying fraternal greetings from the convention be sent to L. Stefanovich, delegate from the South Slavonian S.L.F. who was unable to attend because of confinement in the hospital. On motion, telegram ordered sent.

Committee on Constitution and Resolutions Pertaining Thereto continued its report.

On the resolution submitted by G. Cozzini (Wisconsin): recommended amending the Party Constitution by adding a new clause (c) to Art. II, Sec. 34, as follows:

"No member of the Socialist Labor Party shall fraternize with any person who has been expelled because of disruptive action or intent, such fraternization being anti-organizational conduct, and constituting valid grounds for charges."

On motion, concurred in.

On amendment to Art. II, Sec. 22, which had been recommitted, the committee recommended adoption of the following, to be added after the words "Section or Branch of a Section":

Provided, that a Section in executive session may, in accordance with parliamentary procedure, decline to grant the floor to such visiting members in all matters of special inner-Section concern, and especially in matters involving disciplinary action against a member under charges, if the Section in its judgment deems it to be in the Party's best interest to do so. However, the visiting member shall not be allowed to vote."

On motion, concurred in.

On resolution submitted by E. Dolphin (Minnesota) re revision of Study Class Application Blank, recommended deletion of paragraphs 2 and 3 of Rule No. 7. On motion, concurred in.

The committee recommended amending the Party Constitution by adding to clause (c), Art. XIII, Sec. 10, the following, which recommendation was concurred in with amendment as indicated (the words added being underscored):

"Excepting only minor offices carrying no compensation or other emoluments, and which only involve duties akin to strike duties, including the filing of such routine reports to the union as required under union rules, PROVIDED that no S.L.P. member may accept such minor office unless his means of making a living depends upon acceptance of such office, and PROVIDED further that the N.E.C. of the Party does not deem it to be harmful to the S.L.P. *for the member* to accept such office under compulsion."

During the debate, a motion was carried that the vice chairman assume the chair, to permit the chairman to express his views. The vote on this proposition was by roll call, with 25 in favor, 6 against.

Committee on Platform and Resolutions Pertaining Thereto (H. N. Simon, Indiana, reporting):

Recommended adoption of resolution on "Outlawing the Communist Party." On motion, concurred in.

Recommended that the proposed resolution on "American Imperialism" be not adopted. On motion, concurred in.

(H. Steiner, California, reporting for the Committee on Platform, etc.): Recommended adoption of resolution on "Militarism." On motion, concurred in, with paragraphs 10 and 11 amended.

Convention recessed at 3:20 p.m.

Called to order at 3:35 p.m.

Committee on Internal Disturbances and Grievances (N. Karp, New York, reporting): recommended adoption of the following:

"Your Committee on Internal Disturbances and Grievances has carefully reviewed and considered that portion of the report of the National Executive Committee to this convention dealing with internal difficulties, and makes the following recommendations:

"1. We recommend that the 22nd National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party wholeheartedly approve the action taken by the National Executive Committee, the National Executive Committee Sub-Committee, and the National Secretary in handling the disruptive attacks made upon the Party in 1947.

"2. We further recommend that this national convention specifically approve the following resolution adopted by the National Executive Committee at its May, 1947, session:

" 'On the Disruptive Situation in General.

" 'The N.E.C. listened carefully to the recital of disruption in the Party presented through the National Secretary's report. On the basis of the volume of evidence presented, the N.E.C. declares that this evidence conclusively establishes the fact of an organized conspiracy aimed at the heart of the organization. The N.E.C. further recognizes that the so-called "resolutions" presented by the disrupters, notably in New York, Cook Co., and Cleveland (including the so-called motions to effect the removal of the National Secretary) were smoke screens designed to trap the unwary and unsuspecting honest members, maneuvers adopted for the purpose of creating the "atmosphere" in which to effect their anti-organizational purpose which (whatever the ultimate goal of the disrupters might have been) self-evidently had no relation to, nor could have had any relation to the serving of S.L.P. principles, nor the promotion of the Party's interests.

" 'Accordingly, the N.E.C. condemns in the strongest terms this wanton and criminal assault on the National Organization of the Socialist Labor Party, and at the same time deplores the fact that in the three Sections where the disrupters were particularly active and (for a time) practically imposed their will on the majority (in Sections Cook Co., Cleveland and New York)—the N.E.C. deplores the fact that the loyal members in these three Sections did not promptly put a stop to what should at the very outset have convinced them constituted a disruptive, flank attack on the Party and its duly elected National Administration. An eternally vigilant membership is the

only guarantee of keeping the Party to its tested and proven sound course, and to orderly procedure in dealing with disturbances—a procedure which precludes toleration of dilatory, frivolous and absurd motions and resolutions, resolutions which, on the face of things, constitute an affront to the intelligence of loyal members of the Socialist Labor Party. And the N.E.C. urges the members to exercise such vigilance hereafter, to the end of preventing such criminal assaults on the Party, or at least putting a stop to them before Sections find themselves engulfed in a disruptive situation.

" 'The conduct of the leading disrupters has been criminal in every proper S.L.P. sense, the disrupters having manifested their thorough contempt for the Party by their reprehensible anti-S.L.P. methods—by their flouting of all standards of S.L.P. order and decency. The N.E.C., therefore, brands these leading disrupters as Party criminals who forever should be and hereby are barred from membership in the Party should they ever have the effrontery to seek readmission.

" 'The N.E.C. finally expresses its complete and unqualified confidence in the integrity of the N.E.C. Sub-Committee and the National Secretary, and approves the effective and prompt handling of the disruptive outbreaks in the various localities by the N.E.C. Sub-Committee and the National Secretary, once again charging the N.E.C. Sub-Committee to take charge of the affairs of any Section whenever in its judgment such Section finds itself unable to deal with its own disruptive situation effectively and promptly.'

"3. We also recommend that this convention reaffirm the ruling made by the National Executive Committee in regular session May, 1935, re: lampoons, which reads as follows:

" 'Moved that all Subdivisions be instructed that all mail or correspondence addressed to the Section, or the organizer of the Section, be opened only by the organizer of the Section, or by such other officer of the Section as temporarily may have been appointed to act as organizer. All official correspondence must, of course, be presented to the Section for action, *all other matters of a disruptive nature, including lampoons, shall be returned unopened to the sender.* [Members-at-large are to be guided accordingly, i.e., lampoons received by them, whether obviously lampoons, or disguised as "newspapers," "bulletins" or what not, are to be returned to the disrupters unopened, or immediately destroyed.]'

"4. We finally recommend that that portion of the National Executive Committee's report to this national convention, dealing with internal difficulties, be reprinted in sufficient copies and sent to each member of the Party to be read at Section meetings in executive session. In this respect the attention of the membership should be specifically called to those sections in which the National Secretary explains at some length the reasons underlying the Party's ruling that lampoons are to be returned to their senders unopened."

On motion, adopted with the following amendment: the words "to be

read at Section meetings in executive session," be added in the final recommendation, sentence ending "sent to each member of the Party."

Auditing Committee (L.P. Wettstein, Ohio) reported as follows: "The accounts of the National Office and the Party Plant have been audited for the years 1944, 1945, 1946 and 1947, by certified public accountants. The Auditing Committee recommends that these financial reports be adopted." On motion, concurred in.

Committee on Party Press and Literature (G. Cozzini, Wisconsin, reporting):

On the resolution submitted by R. Long (California), recommending change in the pamphlet "High Cost of Living," etc., the committee recommended that this resolution be referred to the N.E.C. Sub-Committee. On motion, concurred in.

On the resolution submitted by R. Long (California), recommending changing name of WEEKLY PEOPLE to "Socialist Labor Press," the committee recommended non-concurrence, and informed the convention that this recommendation was not signed by R. Long, the third member of the committee. On motion, recommendation concurred in.

Recommended adoption of the following resolution re WEEKLY PEOPLE subscriptions:

"Whereas, The Committee on Party Press and Literature recognizes the seriousness of the ominous passage in the N.E.C. Report to the Convention, which calls attention to the falling off of WEEKLY PEOPLE subscriptions; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That all inquiries for information be followed up by personal contacts with the view of securing WEEKLY PEOPLE subscriptions, and be it further

"Resolved, That serious effort be made to recontact new WEEKLY PEOPLE subscribers one or more times after the paper starts coming, in order to insure that these subscribers have 'learned' to read the WEEKLY PEOPLE; and finally be it

"Resolved, That each Subdivision, as well as each member, feel that the securing of WEEKLY PEOPLE renewals is a solemn obligation not to be ignored or treated lightly."

On motion, concurred in.

Recommended adoption of the following resolution on "Street Sales of Pamphlets and WEEKLY PEOPLE," which was concurred in with amendment to delete as indicated by underscoring:

"Whereas, The experience of Subdivisions that have tried street sales of pamphlets and WEEKLY PEOPLES has shown that this activity can be successfully conducted, especially in large cities, and

"Whereas, The sales method employed by Section New York of lining up several members on the curb of a busy street on Saturday afternoons, and hawking the WEEKLY PEOPLE, or an appropriately titled pamphlet such as 'War, Why?' has resulted in sales of several hundred pamphlets this spring, and

"Whereas, This form of activity is both a morale builder for those who participate and, because of its group nature, *a method of overcoming timidity in individual members and encouraging aggressiveness*, and

"Whereas, The spectacle of several members selling literature is an impressive one and helps to make the Party known; therefore be it

"Resolved, That the Subdivisions be urged to organize weekly street sales wherever this form of activity is practicable."

Recommended adoption of the following resolution on "Leaflet Distribution":

"Whereas, Party experience in general, and the N.E.C. Report in particular, have pointed forcefully to the fact that leaflet distribution is a main source and most potent force in gaining new inquiries, contacts, WEEKLY PEOPLE subs and literature sales; therefore be it

"Resolved, That the mass distribution of leaflets call forth the concentrated efforts of every Section and Branch in this 1948 National Campaign, with 6,000,000 distribution as the goal between now and election time, and be it further

"Resolved, That no opportunity be overlooked by Subdivisions or individuals in accomplishing this important work in which the formal political campaign is necessarily a limited part of the total campaign for Socialism, the following having already been proved excellent opportunities for organized distribution: (1) factory gates; (2) street corners; (3) transportation centers; (4) mass meetings; (5) house-to-house (as a systematic preparation for personal contact work)."

On motion, concurred in.

Recommended adoption of the following resolution re "New Leaflets":

"Whereas, A Subdivision that is consistently active in distributing leaflets soon saturates a community with the current stock of leaflets, and

"Whereas, Members are encouraged to participate more frequently in this important work when new titles are available, and

"Whereas, Several titles are needed now, such as 'The Police State: How to Stop It,' 'Socialism vs. Stalinism,' 'Capitalism Is No Bargain' (a leaflet for women), 'You Can Stop World War III,' and others; therefore be it

"Resolved, That the National Office make available several new leaflets designed for mass distribution each year."

On motion, concurred in.

Recommended adoption of resolution re "WEEKLY PEOPLE expiring subscriptions":

"Whereas, The present system of reporting WEEKLY PEOPLE subscription expirations to the Subdivisions does not follow up with reminders to the Subdivisions of the renewals they have failed to secure, and

"Whereas, It is impossible for a Subdivision to know under the present procedure which subscribers have sent in renewals themselves, thus frequently causing lost time in calling on a subscriber who has renewed himself; therefore be it

"Resolved, That if it does not impose an unreasonable burden on the

National Headquarters that, in addition to the present expiration slips, the Sections be sent the list of subscribers who have not renewed during the first month, and this process be repeated for those who have not renewed during the second month using different colored slips for those who have not renewed at the end of the first and second months."

On motion, concurred in.

Committee on International Relations (D. D. Dobreff, Bulgarian S.L.F., reporting):

Recommended adoption of the following resolutions:

1. "On Russian State Despotism." On motion, concurred in.

2. "On International Socialism." On motion, concurred in.

3. "On the Threat of Third World War." On motion, adopted as amended.

4. "On The Church in Politics." On motion, concurred in.

Committee on General Agitation (A. A. Albaugh, Ohio, reporting):

Recommended adoption of resolution, "A Call To Action!" On motion, this resolution to be published in the WEEKLY PEOPLE once a month during the campaign.

On resolution submitted by J. Sim (Michigan) re contesting non-partisan elections, the committee reported as follows:

"In view of the nature of non-partisan elections, (1) considering that these elections are usually only local, and (2) that municipalities usually adopt their own rules governing such non-partisan elections, your committee fails to see where advantage could be derived for the Party by engaging in non-partisan elections,

"Therefore, your committee recommends non-concurrence in the resolution."

On motion, concurred in.

On motion, the following submitted by the Committee on General Agitation was concurred in:

"Your committee has no new proposals or different methods of furthering general agitation. We are of the opinion, however, that methods which have already been established should be more thoroughly exploited. In this connection, we specifically call your attention to the value of conducting booths at state fairs for educational purposes. The N.E.C. report covering the Iowa and Minnesota State Fairs was particularly heartening. Your committee recommends that this method of agitation be extended into the states wherever possible, and that a concerted effort to secure booth space at state fairs be made early enough to reap the benefits we can logically expect during the 1948 campaign.

"To sum up the various methods of agitation which have proven most successful, we list the following:

"Party, Press and Literature
"Public Meetings
"Study Classes
"Leaflet Distribution

"Letters to the Capitalist Press
"Booths at State Fairs
"Radio.

"Your committee notes that a 'severe slump' in leaflet distribution occurred in 1947. As leaflet distribution is one of the important and proven methods of spreading the Socialist Labor Party program, your committee heartily concurs in the N.E.C. recommendation that we set a goal of ten million leaflets to be distributed during 1948. Recognizing that we do have a lack of manpower to carry out fully this wide range of agitational possibilities, we do believe, however, that our membership could increase its efforts. At any rate, it seems that there is no course open to us other than to assume added responsibilities in order to make up for our deficiency in numbers. It's every shoulder to the wheel, comrades; let us make every effort count."

At this point, the Committee on Constitution and Resolutions Pertaining Thereto requested to be excused to complete its work. Granted.

On motion by M. K. Lipicky (Hungarian S.L.F.), the resolution on "The Threat of Third World War" was referred back to the Committee on International Relations.

The reports of the Bulgarian, Hungarian, and South Slavonian Socialist Labor Federations, which were incorporated in the report of the N.E.C. to the convention, were read and adopted.

The chairman called for a collection for the WEEKLY PEOPLE, which totaled $70.58.

The fraternal delegate from the Canadian Socialist Labor Party was called upon to address the convention. Comrade Harold Rowbottom conveyed the fraternal greetings from the Canadian S.L.P., and expressed deep appreciation for the opportunity of attending this convention.

On motion, convention adjourned at 6:05 p.m., to reconvene at 7:30 p.m.

Evening Session, Monday, May 3

Called to order at 7:40 p.m.

On roll call, all delegates reported present.

Report of National Campaign Committee (Louis D. Cohen, New York, reporting), recommended adoption of resolution on "The Ballot." On motion, concurred in, with amendment in paragraph 9.

On motion, recommendation to reprint this resolution as a small leaflet, to be used in connection with signature gathering, concurred in.

On motion, the following recommendations of the National Campaign Committee were concurred in:

"1. Getting on the Ballot.

"In line with the recommendations of the N.E.C. Report, your Committee urges that every effort be made to place the Party's ticket on the ballot in as many states as possible. In states where this is not possible, and where it can be done, we must conduct a vigorous write-in vote campaign.

"2. Radio.

"Your committee recommends that the radio be utilized to a greater extent than ever before. To this end, Subdivisions are instructed to create a committee of one or more members, with the specific duty of fully investigating every political broadcast with a view of determining whether time for the broadcast was given free or paid for. If free, the Subdivisions should press for equal time. If paid for, and it is desirable to do so, the Subdivisions should press for the purchase of equal time for our candidates for the same offices.

"3. Public Meetings.

"With the rise in political interest brought on by a National Campaign, public meetings will afford increased opportunities to reach the workers. Therefore, more meetings should be held and more care should be taken in their planning, in order to exploit the greater opportunities we shall have to use this means of presenting our program to the workers.

"4. Leaflet Distribution.

"Since leaflet distribution remains the best method for reaching the workers and arousing their interest in our program, every Subdivision is urged to redouble its efforts in this historic campaign year to reach and surpass the quota adopted by the convention.

"5. WEEKLY PEOPLE Subscriptions.

"The National Campaign with the attendant increased general agitational activities will result in increased interest in the WEEKLY PEOPLE. With proper application on the part of the membership, the number of new subscriptions for the WEEKLY PEOPLE should increase greatly. The membership is urged, therefore, to bear these facts in mind and to take the necessary action to sell new subs for our fighting organ.

"6. Publicity.

"The tour of our national candidates and our state candidates will offer great possibilities for securing space in the capitalist press for publicity purposes. The Subdivisions and members are urged to send releases to their local newspapers regularly, to write letters to the press on every possible occasion, and to arrange interviews for our national and state candidates. Since careful planning and preparation of publicity are necessary, and since it is reported that personal contact is preferable to contact by mail, Subdivisions are urged to select publicity and press committees carefully. Local radio stations should not be overlooked in connection with publicity.

"We further recommend that those proposals made by the N.E.C. Report and not specifically mentioned in this report be concurred in. It is hoped that those that depend upon the solution of the National Office problems of manpower, etc., for their realization may be found possible to carry out. With the utmost cooperation of all Subdivisions and members, this 1948 National Campaign can and will be one in keeping with the requirements of the opportunities of the hour, and one befitting the Centennial of the 'Communist Manifesto.'"

Committee on International Relations (D. D. Dobreff, Bulgarian S.L.F., reporting):

Recommended that in the resolution on "The Threat of Third World War," the following be inserted after "Mid East," in paragraph 7: "more and more foreign markets, sources of raw material, spheres of influence, etc." On motion, concurred in with amendment to delete "etc.," and to insert "and" after "raw materials."

Committee on Constitution and Resolutions Pertaining Thereto (J. Sim, Michigan, reporting):

Recommended that Art. XIII, Sec. 4, be amended to read as follows: "Sections, local and state organizations may make rules for their action, providing these do not conflict with any rules duly provided for their formation and procedure, nor with any rules of the state or national organizations. All rules of the Sections, local organizations, and state organizations, shall be submitted for approval to the National Executive Committee."

Recommended adoption of resolution on "Economic Organization." On motion, concurred in.

Delegates from various states addressed the convention. The chairman also called on the Editor of *Radnicka Borba*, delegate from the South Slavonian S.L.F., L. Petrovich, who spoke briefly.

On motion, the convention expressed appreciation for the work of the following members in connection with the convention and the banquet: S. Blume, J. Pirincin, P. Herzel, J. Emanuel, J. Braunstein, and R. Weinberger and associates.

On motion, recess declared at 9:30 p.m. for preparation of the minutes.

Called to order at 9:45 p.m.

Minutes of the three sessions of Monday, May 3, were read and adopted.

On motion, the minutes of the convention as a whole were adopted.

The convention adjourned at 10 p.m., sine die.

Fraternally submitted,

Aaron M. Orange,
Recording Secretary.

Sophie Blume,
Assistant Recording Secretary.

REPORT OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

TO THE 22nd NATIONAL CONVENTION, SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY, May 1, 1948.

COMRADE DELEGATES—

Greetings:

Chaos and confusion in the extreme mark the otherwise great and stirring historical period through which we are passing. Never in all recorded history has the civilized world been so shaken to its foundations as at this fated hour. The chaos is, of course, due to the increasing dissolution, the almost complete breakdown of capitalism in the greater part of the world, with ruling classes and the workers alike standing bewildered, the latter all but bereft of hope and spirit. The confusion is the logical result of this process of dissolution, but much of it is, as we know, created deliberately by the ruling classes in the desperate hope of being able to keep the workers in continued ignorance, and divided among themselves. While United States capitalism is still seemingly strong, it is so only in a superficial sense. Fear and panic rule the American plutocracy, despite their brave whistling in the dark. Indeed, the degree of their fear may be gauged by the volume of their whistling.

To the confusion naturally engendered by the gradually collapsing capitalist system, and artificially created by the servitors of capitalism, is to be added the share contributed by Stalinist Russia, a country professing Marxism, and on occasions using its language, but in fact a class-ruled, class-divided society completely in the grip of a gangster regime that is as unscrupulous and unprincipled in its methods as were the Nazi and Fascist gangsters. Yet many sincere persons are unable to perceive this, even though they find themselves unable to explain the obvious contradiction between the professed Marxism of the Stalinists and their undeniable ruling-class totalitarian tactics and acts. And thus the confusion grows.

The utter criminality of the Stalinists is emphasized by the fact that their reckless, war-provoking acts not only add to the present chaos and confusion, but actually threaten to precipitate a situation where a major, universal collapse would find the workers totally unprepared to act, either in their own immediate interests, or in the interest of their ultimate class goal. Unorganized and divided, misdirected, misled —by plutocrats and Stalinist rulers alike— they would find themselves the helpless victims of a global massacre that might well rule out the possibility of establishing Socialism in this or even in the next generation —the Socialism that the Stalinists prate so much about, but that, stupidly or consciously, they actually work so hard to prevent— even if civilization, and perhaps the globe itself, were not ac-

tually destroyed. But perhaps the Stalinists are confusing capitalism with civilization — perhaps they actually believe that only through the destruction of civilization can world capitalism — or what is left of it — be destroyed! Drunk with power, blinded by their fanatical belief in the inevitability of bloodshed and violence, they seem to act on the supposition that only through the mass slaughter of workers everywhere and mass destruction of present capitalist property will it be possible to achieve Socialism, or the thing they project, and which they profess to consider Socialism, in reality, the preserving of their power and privileged position as a ruling clique! Whatever their motives, whatever their fantastic objectives, whatever their acts and utterances may imply, the result is confusion worse confounded, and the possible result may, as said, be the placing of the world on the brink of cataclysmic disaster. That they are aided and abetted in this by the western plutocratic powers — that these, indeed, are pushing toward that same brink — does not relieve them of co-responsibility for the criminally insane course now being pursued by them as well as by the desperate capitalist classes of the world. It may even be supposed that the plutocratic powers share this criminal idea with the Stalinists—that is, that only through a major catastrophe may it be possible for them to preserve their class privileges, wealth and power. Certainly their utterances and many of their acts — including the brazenly provocatory acts and words of the Pope — sometimes cause one to wonder if that may not actually constitute their spring of action.

It is in this setting of chaos and confusion, of impending universal cataclysm, that we of the Socialist Labor Party meet in quadrennial convention, once again to plan for a national campaign, and for future activities — at least for as far ahead in the future as these tumultuous times and rapidly changing world events make possible. Our problems during the global war were many and grave. We should be deceiving ourselves did we not prepare to deal with similar problems, and even graver ones in increasing measure, in the months and years immediately ahead. Yet we are given no choice. We shall continue to proclaim the valid Marxian truths, continue to present the inspiring De Leonist program to the workers, increasingly endeavor to convince them of the absolute necessity of organizing in Socialist industrial unions. We shall continue to do this, come what may, because there are no workable alternatives. And, having overcome mountainous difficulties in the past, we may with confidence proceed on the assumption that we shall overcome the Himalayan obstacles to be encountered hereafter.

Let us now proceed to a review of past activities, and to a consideration of current plans and problems and those of the immediate future.

GENERAL AGITATION

(A)

Organizers

During 1947 the Party toured four national organizers, namely, Comrades A. Chenoweth, Horace I. Hillis, John P. Quinn, and Dallas Reynolds.

Partly because of his temporary employment as assistant at the National Office, and partly because of his physical condition, Comrade Joseph Pirincin was not placed in the field as national organizer.

Comrade Chenoweth was on the road from January 5 to March 26, 1947. A tri-city tour had been arranged, which included the cities of Cincinnati, Dayton and Louisville, two days being devoted to each. In Louisville we had hoped to reestablish a Section, but in this respect we were not successful. Study classes were conducted by Comrade Chenoweth regularly in the cities of Louisville and Cincinnati, the one in Dayton being conducted by the Section itself. On the whole these classes were successful, though they yielded no immediate concrete results. In addition Comrade Chenoweth addressed public meetings, helped with contact work, and whenever possible assisted in leaflet distribution, aided by his wife, Comrade Kay Chenoweth, and local comrades. In Louisville, Comrade Gordon Long was of great assistance in causing the distribution of 21,000 leaflets. As Comrade Chenoweth puts it in a report: "To Comrade Long goes the credit for organizing this work, in addition to his help with the other phases of the work on this tour."

In connection with contact work, Comrade Chenoweth visited "several universities and colleges near Dayton to offer speakers at forums and clubs and to advertise the Dayton study class." These efforts proved unsuccessful. He did address a group of high school students in Cincinnati, with no visible results.

In the course of this tour Comrade Chenoweth delivered thirteen radio talks, four in Cincinnati, five in Dayton, and four in Louisville, the cost of the last mentioned having been borne by a local sympathizer. The National Office participated substantially in the financing of these radio broadcasts.

It is rather difficult to appraise the over-all success of this tour. However, it can hardly be said that it was an outstanding success. The cost of maintaining Comrade Chenoweth on the road averaged about $100 per week, and because of this heavy expense, and the seeming lack of corresponding results, it had been decided to discontinue the tour for the time being. However, just about at the same time Comrade Chenoweth found it necessary, for personal reasons, to discontinue his Party employment, so that in any case his work as national organizer would have ceased.

We believe the principle of a three- or four-city tour, with visits on regular days of the week, is sound, and it is felt that similar attempts should be made again. Such concentrated efforts, with diversified activities, involve a good deal of exploratory work that may not yield proportionate immediate results. It is valuable work, however, when done properly, and in any case serves to stimulate and step up the participating Sections. In this latter respect the tour was far from being a failure.

Comrade Horace I. Hillis was toured in Massachusetts and Rhode Island from December 15, 1946, to the end of May, 1947, three or four days weekly. Comrade Hillis engaged chiefly in contact work, leaflet distribution and addressed public meetings as well as conducting study classes. The results on the whole were meager, due to no fault of Comrade Hillis, who worked hard

and diligently. A great deal of work was done in Providence, where repeated attempts were made to conduct regular study classes, but all in vain. The Ultramontanes have done a pretty good job for the ruling class in Providence, which practically means Rhode Island. The Vatican politicians practically rule Providence, the city founded as a haven of liberty by the great libertarian, Roger Williams. Sooner or later this "hard nut" will be cracked, but it will require a great deal of work and patience.

During a few days in August and September last year Comrade Hillis made special trips to Providence, but with no better results. Hopes had been entertained of establishing at least a nucleus in this otherwise important city, especially with an eye to the National Campaign, since it is comparatively easy to get on the ballot there. Of course, efforts along these and other lines of S.L.P. activities will be renewed.

Comrade John P. Quinn resumed activities in Los Angeles on January 6, 1947, terminating his activities in this area on April 28, 1947, after having attended the California State Convention held at San Francisco, April 20. A tour up the Pacific Coast had been planned, but it was found necessary to abandon this plan because of the disruptive situation in the midwestern cities of Milwaukee, Chicago and Cleveland, where it was felt his presence would be of invaluable help to the loyal comrades in handling the disruptive situations, or their aftermath. Accordingly, Comrade Quinn arrived in Milwaukee on May 9, remaining in the Milwaukee-Chicago area until July 18, interrupting his stay in this area in order to attend the Ohio State picnic, and to address a meeting in Cleveland, on June 14 and 15. Beginning July 20 with a visit to Gary, Ind., he next visited Cleveland for four days, interrupting his stay in that city in order to attend the Michigan State picnic, and to pay a visit to Detroit, covering the dates from July 27 to the 29th. Returning to Cleveland he remained there until August 14, following which he went to Minnesota to render assistance to the Twin Cities in connection with the Minnesota State Fair which was held from August 19 to September 2.

Thereafter, beginning September 4, Comrade Quinn visited Duluth, Minneapolis and Winona, returning to Milwaukee on September 16, remaining two days. The next day he arrived in Chicago, remaining there three days. Between September 20 and October 3 he visited Gary, South Bend and Fort Wayne, Ind.; Canton and Lorain, Ohio; proceeding to Michigan where he visited Detroit and Pontiac in the week of October 5 to 12, during which period, as fraternal delegate from the national organization, he also attended the convention of the Hungarian S.L.F. held in Detroit. From October 14 to 19 he worked in the Cleveland-Akron area, proceeding to Erie, Pa., on October 21. Until October 31 he toured the New York cities of Jamestown, Buffalo, Rochester and Syracuse. To Springfield and Boston, Mass., were assigned the dates from November 3 to 6, inclusive. On November 9 he paid visits to Philadelphia, Pa., and neighboring Vineland, N. J., arriving finally in New York City on November 10, where he remained several days, devoting his time to conferences with the National Secretary at National Headquarters and addressing a meeting of the Greater New York member-

ship on November 14. Having expressed a desire to terminate his tour for the time being, Comrade Quinn proceeded southward, visiting on the way Baltimore and Washington, on November 19 and 20.

Comrade Quinn performed his work with the usual credit to himself and the Party, stimulating the Sections to greater activity, assisting them in solving their local problems, etc. The assistance he rendered in the three midwestern cities where the anti-S.L.P. conspirators and disruptive elements had been riding high was particularly valuable and effective. His effectiveness in this respect may be measured by the volume of abuse and vilification heaped upon him by the disruptive scoundrels and Party criminals, some of them stooping to the lowest slumgutter abuse in their impotent rage at having been exposed and frustrated in their criminal assaults on the Party.

Comrade Dallas Reynolds commenced his tour on January 2, 1947, in the State of Washington. He remained in the western part of the state until February 21. From February 22 until March 13 he worked in Spokane. From there he went to Denver, Colorado, arriving in that city on March 15. Here he remained nearly two months, until May 10, carrying on various activities, assisting the Section, and succeeding in pepping up substantially the Section, as well as the members individually. He arrived in Kansas City, Mo., on May 12, remaining until the 17th. Our Section there needed help badly, but a review of the situation indicated that an organizer would have to be stationed in that city many weeks in order to accomplish worth-while results. From May 18 to June 30 Comrade Reynolds toured the St. Louis, Mo., and southern Illinois area, doing excellent work. During the period of July 1 to August 18, he visited the cities of Evansville, Cincinnati, Louisville, Dayton, Indianapolis, Peoria and Chicago. August 19 found him in Des Moines, Iowa, where he was charged with the duty of assisting the Iowa comrades in connection with the famed Iowa State Fair (August 19-29). He then toured the northern Indiana area from August 30 to September 19, the northern Ohio area from September 20 to October 10, arriving in Pittsburgh October 11, remaining in this area until October 17. After visits to Baltimore and Washington (October 18-24), his Party employment was terminated for the time being, upon his own expressed wish. He is now again in the employ of the Party as national organizer, having assisted in signature gathering in Pennsylvania beginning March 6. A tour is now being mapped out for him in Pennsylvania, where he will remain until May 15, or possibly to the end of May.

On the whole, Comrade Reynolds has done excellent work as national organizer, despite his comparative youth and still limited experience in this field. As a young boy he received his first training on the road as companion to his father, Comrade Verne L. Reynolds, at one time one of the Party's most efficient organizers, and formerly Vice Presidential and Presidential candidate on the ticket of the Socialist Labor Party. In 1940, Comrade Dallas Reynolds accompanied the Party's Presidential candidate, Comrade John W. Aiken, as companion and all-around assistant, an experience that also has stood him in good stead.

It is acknowledged that Comrade Reynolds possesses qualities that should make of him a first-class S.L.P. organizer. His devotion and loyalty to the Party cannot be questioned. Yet, in some respects he has been the cause of some disappointments, as reflected in the considerable correspondence between himself and the National Office. To a lesser degree a state organization was also involved. The chief difficulty arose out of some of his public utterances, particularly his radio talks, that is, those prepared by himself. No useful purpose would be served here by going into detail. Suffice it to say that some of his mistakes appear to be the result of a rather superficial acquaintance with basic Party literature, Party history and practices. In part, at least, he has recognized this deficiency by expressing a determination to devote sufficient time to a rereading and thorough study of Party literature, etc.

It is, however, greatly to Comrade Reynolds's credit that he does not resent criticism, that he appears eager to improve himself so that he may, with satisfaction to himself and the S.L.P., fully serve the Party. With greater maturity and experience, and with exercise of the necessary self-discipline, it may otherwise be said (other things being equal) that in Comrade Reynolds the Party will have one of its ablest organizers, one who can apply great energy to the intelligent performance of the exacting task of a national organizer for the S.L.P.

Comrade H. N. Simon (now residing in Indiana) was toured as state organizer by the Connecticut S.E.C. from November 18, 1946, to April 12, 1947. Comrade Simon did excellent work during his brief tour, and it is much to be regretted that he found it necessary to move out of the state. The National Office would very much like to tour him during the campaign as national organizer, but his present circumstances would seem to indicate that he may not be available.

Comrade Herbert Steiner was employed by the California S.E.C. as state organizer from February 1, 1947, to June 29, 1947, on a three-days-a-week basis. From September 1, 1947, to February 29, 1948, he was employed on a full-time basis, working mainly in the Bay area, one month (October) being devoted to the Los Angeles area. Comrade Steiner is a capable and hard worker, but unfortunately he found it necessary to withdraw recently as state organizer for reasons of health. According to a summary prepared by the S.E.C. (and partly by Comrade Steiner), during the period of his employment he made 950 contact visits, including 219 interviews; he secured 109 WEEKLY PEOPLE subscriptions, sold $27 worth of literature, arranged (and participated in) the distribution of 108,000 leaflets; delivered thirteen lectures, and conducted four discussion group sessions. Not spectacular work, but good solid achievement, a fact to which the S.E.C. gave full recognition. It is a great misfortune that this comrade's health prevents him from serving the Party continuously as full-time national organizer. It is hoped that he may improve in health so that his services hereafter may be available to the national organization.

Comrade Aaron M. Orange volunteered his services during the months of

July and August, 1947, and was toured in the states of New York and Pennsylvania by the respective State Executive Committees. In New York, according to Comrade Orange's report, the cities of Schenectady, Amsterdam, Gloversville, Albany, Utica, Syracuse, Binghamton, Rochester, Buffalo and Jamestown were covered. His assignment was to carry on contact work, street sales of literature, hold outdoor meetings, and to "better organize leaflet distribution." Outdoor meetings were held, of which, it is reported, those held in Rochester, Buffalo and Jamestown "were as successful as any held in those cities" by Comrade Orange, with "good" literature sales, and "excellent" results in collections, and attended by practically no disturbances. The contact work is described as "most encouraging." In this state tour 171 contacts were visited (of whom about half were not home at the time), 150 pieces of literature were sold, and $21.50 worth of WEEKLY PEOPLE subscriptions were secured. The total income (in subscriptions and literature sold, collections, etc.) is reported as approximately $192, with expenses coming to approximately $89.

The Pennsylvania activities included a radio broadcast in Pittsburgh, public meetings, assisting at picnics, contact work, etc. The total receipts for the period amounted to approximately $62, with expenses coming to approximately $31. Extremely hot weather, and occasional rain, interfered to some extent. Comrade Orange concludes his report as follows: "Above all, I was impressed with the *quality* of contacts on our [New York and Pennsylvania] Subdivisions' lists," and he adds: "If our local membership will but continue to follow up these names, there will be much membership material uncovered."

A brief summary of the financial results of the four National Organizers' tours (as compiled from their financial reports) reveal the following facts:

	Collections	*Subs.*	*Lit. Sales*
A. Chenoweth (Jan. 6-Mar. 29, 1947)	$214.59	$30.00	
H. I. Hillis (Jan.-Oct. 4, 1947)	30.97	13.00	$27.02
J. P. Quinn (Jan.-Nov. 1947)	927.04	111.00	
D. Reynolds (Jan.-Oct., 1947)	579.10	52.00	

We are still faced with the problem of securing competent comrades to serve as national organizers. Not that there is a dearth of qualified comrades, but rather that so few are able to serve. This problem may become acute during the national campaign, to judge by the reports thus far received from the Subdivisions. It is a rather anomalous situation, somewhat akin to the capitalist-made phenomenon of starvation in the midst of plenty! What to do about it is a question to which it seems no present answer can be given.

(B)

Leaflet Distribution

Leaflet distribution suffered a severe slump in 1947. The falling off in this important activity was general throughout the country, and can be at-

tributed to no single cause. It was in part a feature of the general decline in all branches of agitation, and may be explained as a reflection of the listlessness, or a "watchful waiting" attitude, on the part of the somewhat cynical and very confused millions of workers. In part it was due to the continued inability on our part to secure sufficient newsprint paper, and deficient printing facilities (including lack of competent manpower). Never knowing for certain whether paper could be secured, or if (when secured) printing could be done, the National Office was unable to apply the pressure which formerly brought results in leaflet distribution. For to apply strong pressure on the Subdivisions, and then stand unable to supply leaflets if or when the demand is created, obviously would have been bad policy. Another factor was the tightening of the financial situation among the Subdivisions and the membership and sympathizers generally — a factor also reflected in the falling off of contributions to funds, etc. Finally, an important factor was the disruptive situation. It goes without saying that the Party cannot expect to pass through such a disruption as the one that marked the year 1947 without adverse effect on all forms of agitation. For "disruption," among other connotations, means precisely disruption of normal activities. The time devoted to the handling of, and dealing with, the disruptive fools and scoundrels was enormous. If that time had been devoted to normal, wholesome S.L.P. activities, a different picture would most assuredly have been presented as far as leaflet distribution, and similar activities, are concerned. This loss in performing vital functions is only a part of the costly price we pay for internal disturbances — which is another way of saying that it is the high price we must pay when the Subdivisions, first, admit to membership inferior or unqualified material, and, secondly, fail to act with the greatest promptitude in quelling disrupters and conspirators at the very outset. For fear of being or seeming intolerant, too many members tolerate in the Party what they would not tolerate in their private or business lives. Such tolerance, like compromises, eventually collapses under its own weight, but in collapsing it is apt to pull down with it the very organization principles which, if properly applied, should have precluded the "tolerant" attitude in the first place. The price the Party has paid for such "tolerance" has been heavy and costly indeed.

It must not be assumed, however, that it was the "loss" of the disrupters *per se* that seriously affected leaflet distribution. For with few, if any, exceptions, the conspirators and their unthinking supporters seldom took part in such work, *except when they were paid to do it*, as was the case regularly with such Party criminals as the Jesuitical (or Stalinist Machiavellian) Dershowitz of Section New York, or the mindless Eli Feinberg of Section Kings Co., who were forever itching to get on the local Section payrolls, and often succeeded, and for considerable lengths of time.

But whatever may have been the cause or causes of the falling off in leaflet distribution, the tragic fact remains that in 1947 the membership generally distributed only about half the quantity distributed in 1946. As said, the slump was general, but the centers of disruption (New York, Cleveland,

Chicago and Milwaukee) were particularly affected. Whereas in 1946 a total of 4,319,000 leaflets was distributed, in 1947 the total reached only 2,194,000. By states, in the order of quantities, the distribution was as follows:

California, 591,700 (1946: 715,000); New York, 401,000 (1946: 900,000); Pennsylvania, 185,500 (1946: 646,000); Ohio, 169,400 (1946: 394,000); Michigan, 159,400 (1946: 330,000); Washington, 94,500 (1946: 182,000); Illinois, 86,700 (1946: 196,000); Massachusetts, 85,500 (1946: 250,000); Maryland (by Section Washington, D. C.), 56,000 (1946: 69,500); Connecticut, 55,000 (1946: 38,000); New Jersey, 51,400 (1946: 123,000); Kentucky, 44,500 (1946: 4,500); Indiana, 44,100 (1946: 106,000); Missouri, 31,400 (1946: 46,000); Colorado, 15,750 (1946: 33,500); Wisconsin, 9,866 (1946: 128,000); Minnesota, 6,200 (1946: 88,000); Oregon, 5,850 (1946: 58,000).

Some of these figures offer instructive contrasts. Take the four centers of disruption, New York, Cleveland, Chicago and Milwaukee. The three New York City Sections distributed in 1946 a total of 900,000 leaflets. In 1947 the total was less than 290,000. Cleveland distributed in 1946 the total of 185,000. In 1947 the total was less than 65,000. Chicago in 1946 distributed 128,000; the total in 1947 was 53,500. Milwaukee in 1946 distributed 128,000; in 1947 the total was — 9,866! On the other hand, cities that were not affected, or only to an infinitesimal degree, suffered similar slumps. Oakland, Calif., for instance, in 1946 distributed 120,000; in 1947, the total was only 33,000. San Francisco in 1946, 227,000; in 1947, 112,000. Boston in 1946, 185,000; in 1947, 37,700. Section Wayne Co. in 1946, 272,000; in 1947, 125,000. Minneapolis in 1946, 47,000; in 1947, 5,000. St. Paul in 1946, 32,000; in 1947 — 250! Portland, Ore., in 1946, 58,000; in 1947, 5,850. Pittsburgh (Allegheny Co.) in 1946, 250,000; in 1947, 17,000! Philadelphia in 1946, 273,000; in 1947, 144,000. Tacoma in 1946, 79,000; in 1947, 41,000. And so forth. None of these Sections was in the slightest degree affected by the disruption. On the other hand, Section Los Angeles, slightly affected (the two cases were "importations" from New York and Milwaukee!) increased its distribution, the figure for 1946 being 278,000, that for 1947 being 354,000! So that the disruptive scoundrels need lay no flattering unction to their "souls" on the score of the slump in S.L.P. leaflet distribution! Not that it matters in the least what these Party criminals might or might not claim, but it is just as well to underscore the point here for the record. And if they should make the claim, the fact would simply add one more proof of their alliance with the ruling-class camp which, through interference by its minions, attempts to do its utmost to reduce S.L.P. leaflet distribution to the minimum.

The distribution of the 44,500 leaflets in Kentucky was effected largely through the efforts of Comrade Gordon Long, who has done so much toward rebuilding a Section in Louisville. Comrade Long is one of those S.L.P. "outposts" who do not find the absence of a Section in their locality a reason for not being actively engaged in hard, practical S.L.P. work.

In addition to the regular leaflets, some 67,000 advertising flyers were distributed, as against 154,700 in 1946.

We hope, and expect, of course, to distribute at least four times as many leaflets in 1948 as were distributed in 1947. We must somehow find means of achieving at least a ten-million distribution during this important campaign and Marxist centennial year. California and, to a lesser extent, Ohio, have helped relieve the situation by having had local leaflets printed in their respective states. But of this more later.

(C)

Contacts

During 1947 the National Office received 2,114 inquiries as against 2,078 in 1946, or an increase of 36. The sources of these inquiries were as follows: From leaflets distributed, 955; from radio broadcasts, 572; from friends of previous contacts, 262; and miscellaneous 325. The figures for leaflet and radio sources were practically the same in 1947 as in 1946. As will be noted, leaflets as a source still top the list, an important fact we shall all do well to remember. Leaflet distribution is still the most important as a means of making new contacts.

A total of 302 WEEKLY PEOPLE subscriptions was received from all sources — 109 annual, 109 six months, 63 three months, and 21 trial subscriptions. Total cash received for these subscriptions was $363.75, and represents 14.3% of the total number of inquiries received. The figures are slightly above the corresponding ones for 1946. We sold to 84 inquirers, since July 16, 1947, a total number of 548 pamphlets, amounting to $28.95. (Prior to July, 1947, no separate records were kept of pamphlets sold to inquirers.) The above figures do not include inquiries sent direct to Sections and state committees, and which were not relayed to the National Office.

During the first three months of 1948 (January 1-March 31) a total of 640 inquiries has been received, resulting in the sale of 68 subscriptions (17 one year; 29 six months; 17 three months; and 5 trial), amounting in cash to $72.75, this constituting 10.6% of total number of inquirers. 423 pamphlets were sold to 43 inquirers, amounting to $34.65.

Beginning about the middle of July, a careful record has been kept of sources of inquiries and results of mailings sent to those inquiries. Below is an analysis of the inquiries received and results, for the period from July 16 to the end of December, 1947. It is still too early to draw definite conclusions, but it is hoped that in the not too distant future some valuable information may be obtained from these records and statistics:

Source of inquiry	*No. of Inqs.*	*No. subs. Secured*	*No. of lit sales*	*Catalogue requests*	*Total Responses*
Miscellaneous	138	5	8	1	14
Sent by contacts	114	—	—	—	—
Pamphlet coupons	10	2	1	1	4
Radio (general)	215	20	17	1	38
ABC network (Dec. 13, '47)	119	10	6	2	18

CBS network (Dec. 19, '47) ..	138	12	8	1	21
Leaflets:					
Push-Button World	142	9	3	3	15
Democracy of Socialism ...	18	2	—	—	2
Soc. vs. Govt. Ownership ..	7	—	—	—	—
Race Problem	2	1	—	—	1
Inflation and Wages	18	1	2	1	4
Soc.: Champ. of Civ. Pr. ..	7	—	—	—	—
Strikes & the "Public"	28	4	2	1	7
Atomic Power	10	1	1	—	2
Stop Peacetime Conscrip. ..	60	6	2	—	8
Greatest Robbery	8	—	—	—	—
What Means This Strike ..	15	—	—	—	—
Soc. Industrial Unionism ..	7	1	1	—	2
What Socialism Means	33	1	2	1	4
Pov. Can Be Abolished	2	2	—	—	2
Do We Have a Democracy..	5	—	—	—	—
(Total Leaflets	362	28	13	6	47)

It is interesting to note here that the leaflet drawing the largest number of inquiries was "Push-Button World . . .," bringing a total of 142. It had been assumed that strip-cartoon leaflets would bring more responses than the regular type of leaflets, and the experience with this particular leaflet would seem to prove the point. On the other hand, the two other cartoon leaflets, "Strikes and the 'Public,' " and "Do We Have a Democracy," show up disappointingly, bringing only 28 and 5 inquiries respectively. It must be pointed out, however, that for a proper comparison we should have the figures of actual leaflet distribution according to titles, to form any definite conclusions. At any rate, as and when possible and advisable, new cartoon leaflets will be published.

(D)

Public Meetings

During the year of 1947, on the basis of reports received, a total of 361 public meetings was held, as against 391 in the preceding year. Of these 253 were indoor meetings (1946: 275), 100 outdoor meetings (1946: 116), and 8 "miscellaneous." Seattle tops the list with 18 indoor meetings conducted; Wayne Co., San Francisco, Los Angeles, St. Louis, Tacoma, Cleveland follow with 17, 16, 13, 12, 12 and 11 respectively. Twenty Sections conducted no indoor meetings at all. As regards outdoor meetings, Section Kings Co., N.Y., tops the list with 18, Sections Bronx, New York and Cleveland following with 14 each. These totals are not impressive, indicating that there is *still* decided room for improvement. In the following states no outdoor meetings were held at all: California, Colorado, Illinois, Minnesota, Missouri, New Jersey, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Washington. There may be some explanation for failure to hold outdoor meetings in these states (notably

in such large cities as Los Angeles, Chicago, the "Twin Cities," Minn., St. Louis, Akron, Dayton, Cincinnati, Philadelphia, Seattle and Milwaukee), though off hand no reason can be assigned for the failure.

(E)

Radio

During 1947 the Party sponsored 180 radio broadcasts, as against 362 in 1946. (In 1947 there were reported 23 spot announcements as against 9 for 1946.) Of these broadcasts six were free — two national hook-ups at 15 minutes each; one 10-minute national hook-up, and two local at 15 minutes each. (There was one occasion of a forum participation on the air.) Two of the spot announcements were free.

A tabulated list of radio broadcasts throughout the country in 1947 follows:

NATIONAL

ABC, Hass-Pirincin, May 10, 1, 15 min. (free).

ABC, E. Hass, Dec. 13, 1, 10 min. (free).

CBS, L. D. Cohen, Dec. 19, 1, 15 min. (free).

Colorado:

Denver, KFEL, D. Reynolds, Mar. 22-Apr. 19, 5, 15 min. each.

Colorado Springs, KVOR, D. Reynolds, May 8, 1, 15 min.

Connecticut:

South Norwalk, WSTC, Announcer, Jan. & Feb., 2, spot announcements (free).

Illinois:

Chicago, WCFL, J. P. Quinn, Sept. 18, 1, 15 min.

E. St. Louis, WTMV, D. Reynolds, May 29, June 5, June 11 & 19, 4, 15 min. each.

Herrin, WJPF, D. Reynolds, June 15, 1, 15 min.

Peoria, WMBD, D. Reynolds, Aug. 15 & 17, 2, 15 min. ea. WMBD, Announcer, Dec. 12, 2, Spot announce.

Rockford, WROK, Announcer, Dec. 13, 2, Spot announce.

Indiana:

Evansville, WEOA, D. Reynolds, July 2, 1, 15 min.

Ft. Wayne, WFTW, J. P. Quinn, Sept. 14, 1, 15 min.; WOWO, J. P. Quinn, Sept. 16, 1, 15 min.; WOWO, J. P. Quinn, Sept. 25, 1, 15 min.

Hammond, WJOB, D. Reynolds, Sept. 3, 1, 15 min.

Indianapolis, WIBC, D. Reynolds, Aug. 6, 1, 15 min.

South Bend, WHOT, D. Reynolds, Sept. 10, 1, 15 min.; WHOT, J. P. Quinn, Sept. 23, 1, 15 min.

Kentucky:

Louisville, WINN, A. Chenoweth, Feb. 17 & 24, Mar. 3 & 10, 4, 15 min. ea. WGIC, D. Reynolds, July 9, 1, 15 min.

Massachusetts:

Salem, WESX, E. Hass, Feb. 23, 1, 1 hour Forum (free).

Springfield, WSPR, Announcer, Dec. 3, 1, Spot announce.

Iowa:

Des Moines, KCBC, D. Reynolds, Aug. 24 & 25, 2, 15 min. each.

Michigan:

Flint, WFDF, A. Chenoweth, May 1, 1, 15 min.; WFDF, T. Grove, May 8, 1, 15 min.

Pontiac, WCAR, R. B. Tussey, March 16, 1, 15 min.; WCAR, Announcer, Dec. 13, 1, Spot.

Minnesota:

Duluth, WDLW, J. P. Quinn, Sept. 4, 1, 15 min.

Minneapolis, WLOL, J. P. Quinn, Sept. 9, 1, 15 min.

New Jersey:

Vineland, WWBZ, Several, May 12-June 16, 6, 15 min. ea.; WWBZ, Several, Oct. 19-Nov. 23, 6, 15 min. ea.

New York:

Albany, WABY, Several, Jan. 5-Mar. 30, 13, 15 min. ea.; WABY, A. M. Orange, July 11, 1, 15 min.

Buffalo:

WEBR, J. P. Quinn, Oct. 25, 1, 15 min.; WBEN, Announcer, Feb. 23, 1, Spot.

New York City, WLIB, Several, Sept. 19-Dec. 14, 14, 15 min. ea.; WLIB, Announcer, Sept. 19-Dec. 14, 14, Spots.

Rochester, WSAY, D. Bradia, Feb. 22-Mar. 29, 6, 15 min. ea.; WSAY, J. P. Quinn, Oct. 28, 1, 15 min.

Syracuse, WOLF, J. P. Quinn, Oct. 30, 1, 15 min.

Ohio:

Akron, WHKK, N. Karp, March 2, 1, 15 min.; WAKR-FM, E. Hass, Dec. 15, 1, 15 min. (free).

Cincinnati, WSAI, A. Chenoweth, Feb. 9 & 16, 2, 15 min. ea.; WSAI, A. Chenoweth, March 9 & 16, 2, 15 min. ea.; WCPO, D. Reynolds, July 20 & 27, 2, 15 min. ea.

Cleveland, WHK, J. P. Quinn, July 23 & 30, 2, 15 min. ea.

Dayton, WHIO, A. Chenoweth, Jan. 24, Feb. 10, Feb. 27, Mar. 6 & 20, 5, 15 min. ea.; WHIO, D. Reynolds, July 30, 1, 15 min.

Oregon:

Portland, KALE, H. Johanson, Feb. 2, 1, 15 min.

Pennsylvania:

Erie, WLEU, J. P. Quinn, Oct. 21, 1, 15 min.

Pittsburgh, WJAS, A. M. Orange, Aug. 11, 1, 15 min.

Washington:

Aberdeen, KXRO, D. Reynolds, etc., Jan. 2-Apr. 17, 15, 15 min. each; KXRO, H. Morton, May 22, 1, 15 min.; KXRO, H. Killman, May 29, 1, 15 min.; KXRO, H. Morton, June 5, 1, 15 min.

Everett, KRKO, D. Reynolds, Feb. 11, 1, 15 min.; KRKO, D. Reynolds, June 28, 1, 15 min.

Spokane, KXLY, D. Reynolds, Mar. 2 & 9, 2, 15 min. ea.

Tacoma, KMO, D. Reynolds, H. Churchward, Jan. 21, Feb. 4, 6, 20, Mar. 20, Apr. 17, May 15, June 19, July 17, Aug. 21, 10, 15 min. ea.

Wisconsin:

Milwaukee, WFOX, Several, Jan. 4-May 10, 19, 15 min. ea.; WMLO, J. P. Quinn, Sept. 15, 1, 15 min.; WTMJ, A. Kleist, March 8, 1, 15 min. (free).

HUNGARIAN S.L.F.

Detroit, Mich., WJBK, L. Herczeg, T. Vaszily, Beg. Jan. 5, 1st and 3rd Sundays each month, to Oct. 19, 20, 5 min. ea.

New York City, WWRL, L. Herczeg, Jan. 5, 1, 5 min.

Thus far in 1948 the Party sponsored the following radio broadcasts, or has scheduled for delivery:

National, CBS, E. Hass, March 3, 1, 15 min. (free).

National, ABC, L. D. Cohen, April 15, 1, 15 min. (free).

National, CBS, Presidential candidate, May 5, 1, 15 min. (free).

National, ABC, Convention Banquet, NYC, May 1, 1, 15 min. (free).

National, Mutual, Presidential Candidate, May 2, 1, 15 min. (free).

Eastern Seaboard, WCBS-TV, Pres. Candidate, July 29, 1, 30 min. (free).

Illinois:

Peoria, WMBD, A. M. Orange, March 31, 1, 15 min.

Rockford, WROK, A. M. Orange, April 1, 1, 15 min.

Indiana:

Hammond, WJOB, G. Cozzini, April 9, 1, 15 min.

New Jersey:

Vineland, WWBZ, A. Ronis, April 11, 1, 15 min. (free).

New York:

Albany, WABY, A. M. Orange, Jan. 11, 1, 15 min.; WABY, D. Bickweat, Feb. 15 & 29, 2, 15 min. ea.

Lackawanna, WWOL, A. A. Albaugh, Jan. 25, 1, 15 min.; WWOL, B. Papadopolos, Feb. 15, 1, 15 min.; WWOL, A. M. Orange, Feb. 29, 1, 15 min.

Monticello, WVOS, R. Clement, March 6, 1, 15 min. (free).

Ohio:

Akron, WHKK, L. D. Cohen, March 6, 1, 15 min.; WHKK, A. A. Albaugh-L. D. Cohen (from Convention), March 7, 1, 15 min.

Pennsylvania:

Erie, WLEU, L. D. Cohen (Trans.), Jan. 10, 1, 15 min.

Pittsburgh, WPIT, D. Reynolds, Apr. 18, 25, May 2, 9, 4, 15 min. each.

Wisconsin:

La Crosse, WKBH, A. Kleist, March 25, 1, 15 min. (free).

Neenah, WNAM, A. Kleist, April 19, 1, 15 min. (free).

Milwaukee, WMAW, A. A. Albaugh, May 16, 1, 15 min.

As will be noted, only half the number of broadcasts were arranged in 1947 as compared with 1946. On the other hand, the number was double that of 1943, a comparable year — comparable, that is, if we disregard the war situation, which in that year obviously imposed severe restrictions. In the year 1946, it will be remembered, there were many state elections in

which our state organizations participated, and which, of course, provided an additional incentive for securing radio facilities, and in some cases afforded us the opportunity of getting free time on the air. However, the number of broadcasts in 1947 was about the same as in 1945, the total for that year being 195. The National Office is constantly on the alert for opportunities to secure time on the air, free whenever possible, on the regular basis whenever thought advisable or necessary. On the whole we have been rather successful in securing free time on the major networks, though frequently we have to battle with them in order to gain our point. It sometimes takes a good deal of arguing and letter writing to convince the networks that they cannot, or should not, discriminate against the S.L.P. Among the major networks the Mutual Broadcasting System (MBS) stands out as a notable example of discrimination. A brief summary of our difficulties in securing radio facilities follows:

Buffalo, N. Y., Station WBNY:

Approached by our local comrades to purchase time for broadcasts in connection with lectures that were being arranged, the owner of this independent station, Roy L. Albertson, refused point blank to sell time to the Party. He was not interested, he said, in the program of the Socialist Labor Party, and didn't care about our meetings; that he and no one else ran the station. Further, that he would not be "intimidated," and that if we try to make any trouble he would see "that we had plenty of company." Inasmuch as the Section was able to make satisfactory arrangements with another local radio station, the matter was not pressed with WBNY. If it had come to a showdown, the matter would have been taken up with the F.C.C. in order to impress on his "Roy'l Highness" Albertson that he operates his radio station under a federal license, and supposedly in the "public" interest!

New York City, Station WLIB:

When the series of broadcasts was drawing to a close, early in December, 1947, Station WLIB was contacted and informed of our desire to continue the series, or contract for a new series. The new sales manager proved to be very elusive, but finally telephoned to inform us that they could not sell us additional time. The station feared being approached by "undesirable groups," to whom they would have to sell time if they again contracted with the S.L.P. It was intimated that the owner of the station had conferred with attorneys, and they could get no assurance that the station would not have to sell others time if they sold time to us. However, the discussion with the sales manager was cordial, and he informed us that during campaigns the station would accept political talks from candidates.

Network (free) broadcasts:

A great many Sections report inability to get local outlets to release the S.L.P. talks, the general excuse being "previous commitments." In Cleveland, Comrade Peter Kapitz pressed C.B.S. Station WGAR to transcribe and release the December 19 address by Comrade Louis D. Cohen (on the Marshall plan) at a later date. The station's program director refused, for the reason

that Cohen was not an official head of the Party. "If Norman Thomas were delivering the talk they would be glad to release it"! If such a bluff is offered again, we shall have to be prepared to present transcribed talks by our Editor or by the National Secretary.

All four major networks were approached in January, 1947, for free time to discuss President Truman's message to Congress on "The State of the Union," in which he proposed legislation for military conscription and restricting labor. All refused to grant us the time.

Our request to the four networks in May, 1947, for time to speak on the Taft-Hartley bill met with refusal on the part of all but the American Broadcasting Co. (Time was given us over the A.B.C. network for a 15-minute address on May 10.) C.B.S. was not "allocating time for discussion of either proposed labor legislation or military conscription on a party basis." Mutual's Program Board was of the opinion that we "would have nothing new to contribute to the more than thirty programs this network has allotted for the discussion of the Labor Bill . . .," but thanked us for "offering it" to them. N.B.C. had a "heavy backlog of requests from members of Congress for time and thus we are unable to clear a period in the near future for an address by a representative of your organization."

Time having been granted Norman Thomas, we requested and secured the following 15-minute periods:

A.B.C., Dec. 13, 1947 (Hass, on the Marshall plan)
C.B.S., Dec. 19, 1947 (Cohen, on the Marshall plan)
C.B.S., Mar. 3, 1948 (Hass, on Czechoslovakia)

When Henry Wallace, the so-called Third Party candidate, but actually a man still without a party, was granted free time by the Mutual Broadcasting System on December 29, 1947, we requested free time from that network — not to answer Mr. Wallace (the network having announced that no one would be given free time to "answer" him), but in order to discuss the general subject that had prompted his talk. Considerable correspondence with the network resulted. At one point, when our request was allegedly being given "added consideration," the network's "Director of Special Events" asked us, wholly irrelevantly, to furnish a record of the states in which the S.L.P. appeared on the ballot in 1944, "in order that you [the S.L.P.] may establish yourself as a political party entitled to the same courtesy and consideration given the Republican and Democratic parties . . ." This subterfuge stands out in all its crudity when it is recalled that there had been no question about, or reference to, the two majority parties when we made our request, the sole reference having been to the network's grant to the *party-less* Mr. Wallace! On January 22, 1948, the National Secretary replied to the Mutual Broadcasting System as follows:

"Mr. Jack Paige,
"Director of Special Events,
"Mutual Broadcasting System, Inc.
"Dear Mr. Paige:

"Your letter of January 13 is singularly unresponsive to our original

request and our previous letter. We did not base our request for free time on the ground that free time had been granted the Republicans and Democrats; we did not request time to 'answer' Mr. Wallace; you did not clarify your reference to time which you claimed you have given to 'minority parties' program,' and you did not explain by what process of reasoning you reached the startling conclusion that the time you did give to the majority parties was not given for 'political broadcasts.' In short, you have completely evaded the questions at issue, and injected what can only be described as irrelevant matters. And to cap the climax you now lay down the condition that the Socialist Labor Party must be 'a political party' in the same sense as 'the Republican and Democratic Parties' in order to be given free time — not to discuss the 'programs' of the majority parties, not to 'answer' Mr. Wallace, but in order to 'present our views on the controversial political issues which have been raised' through the speech by Mr. Wallace over your network.

"Why do you now insist that the Socialist Labor Party must be a 'political party' in the above-stated sense in order to share equal time with the majority parties and the, as yet, party-less Mr. Wallace? Obviously you did not make that a condition for giving Mr. Wallace free time, since he has no political party, and certainly is not himself a political party! We repeat the question: Why?

"Obviously, the Socialist Labor Party is not a political party in the identical sense that we apply the term to the majority parties. If we were, we should hardly be discussing the question of free time along these lines. The Socialist Labor Party *is* a political party, a minority party, which has participated in national, state and local elections since 1892. It is the oldest of the existing minority parties (with the possible exception of the Prohibition party), antedating by many years the so-called 'radical' or 'left-wing' parties. It is a political party in every proper sense, in every sense that relates to traditional American political parties. It is a minority political party in exactly the same sense that Lincoln's party was a minority party in the 'fifties. And, incidentally, Lincoln and his fellow Republicans would have fallen foul of the same stipulation you now apply to us had there been a Mutual Broadcasting System in his day.

"Indeed, in comparable situations Lincoln and his associates were chided, or questioned, as you do us now. They were scoffed at because they did not poll votes in such-and-such states, because Lincoln was defeated in his senatorial campaign, and because they represented a minority view, an 'unpopular' cause, etc., etc. Lincoln, in a speech at New Haven delivered March 6, 1860, answered some of these carping critics:

> " 'The fact that we get no votes in your section is a fact of your making, and not of ours, and if there be fault in that, that fault is primarily yours, *and remains so until you show that we repel you by any wrong principles or practice.* If we do repel you by any wrong principle or practice, the fault is ours; *but this brings you to where you ought to have started — to a discussion of the right or wrong of our principle.*'

"In short, Lincoln argues, the test of a political party or principle is not how many votes it polls, or how strong it is in physical and material resources, but in the correctness or incorrectness of its principles and program. And the ascertainment of that can be had only through discussions. That is the original American principle. It was good enough for Jefferson and Lincoln, it is good enough for the Socialist Labor Party — it should be good enough for the Mutual Broadcasting System. The casting of votes cannot make a principle or program either right or wrong. In the majority of cases, principles and programs of parties and candidates have been proved wrong, though they received huge majorities at the polls. In the majority of cases political successes, so called, have been attained on the illogical principle that to him who hath shall be given. We think it logical, and as timely as it would undoubtedly be unique, that the process should be reversed.

"The Socialist Labor Party has in the past appeared on the ballot in Presidential campaigns in a number of states varying from fifteen to twenty, and upward. Appended to this letter you will find a record of the Socialist Labor Party Presidential vote cast since 1892, and also a report (official) of the vote cast for the Party's national candidates in 1944. In many states we are barred from appearing on the ballot by reactionary ballot restrictions. Due to restrictions (which in effect amount to a formal proscription of the Party), we were unable to place our candidates on the ballot in California (where approximately 1/3 million signatures are required on petitions), and similarly, though under somewhat less restrictive conditions, in Ohio, New York, etc., etc., despite the fact that we have relatively large memberships and groups of sympathizers in these states.

"Again I call your attention to the fact that the War Department recognized the Socialist Labor Party as a political party in 1944, entitling it to the same privileges and considerations regarding the Army's overseas radio broadcasting program as given the other parties, including, of course, the Republican and Democratic parties. Again, I say, the standard set by the Army in this respect should be a standard acceptable to the Mutual Broadcasting System. If not, why not?

"The Socialist Labor Party, as you may agree, is not a fly-by-night outfit. Its continued existence since 1890, its participation in national campaigns since 1892, and its many and varied political and educational activities during more than half a century should constitute sufficient proof of the validity of its claims. The Party conducts three publishing and printing plants, two in the middle west, and one in New York, where are printed and published four weekly newspapers, and the millions of leaflets, pamphlets, books, etc., etc., which we sell and circulate annually. No other minority party, as far as we know, has so substantial a basis for its existence and activities.

"Though we do not agree with your implication that quantitative considerations alone should constitute conditions for recognition as a 'political party,' I trust, nevertheless, that the facts I have cited will cause you to feel fully justified in deciding that the Socialist Labor Party is 'a political party

entitled to the same courtesy and consideration given the Republican and Democratic Parties' — not to mention the no-Party Mr. Wallace!

"I shall await your reply and decision with great interest.

"Sincerely,
[signed] "Arnold Petersen
"National Secretary
"Socialist Labor Party of America"

The network's reply was in the now familiar vein, replete with evasions and double-talk, and completely unresponsive to the facts in the case. On February 4, 1948, this final reply was sent to the network by the National Secretary:

"Mr. Jack Paige,
"Director of Special Events,
"Mutual Broadcasting System, Inc.
"Dear Mr. Paige:

"I was naturally disappointed when I read your letter of February 2. Not merely because you refused our reasonable request, but because you completely ignored the relevant facts involved, going so far as to abandon completely your own premises and arguments.

"On the record, it is unmistakably clear that from your own premises you had no proper grounds for refusing our request. The conclusion is inescapable that you were determined to discriminate against us. It would have been simpler, and certainly far more forthright, if you had stated at the very outset that you intended to favor the old parties, and the no-party Mr. Wallace, and discriminate against the Socialist Labor Party. Your wholly arbitrary action receives added emphasis by reason of the fact that Mutual Broadcasting System is the only one among the four major networks that has consistently discriminated against us.

"In line with our practice, and as suggested by the Federal Communications Commission, we are submitting copies of our correspondence to the Commission for its information and records, on the basis of which it determines the degree to which a station or network has lived up to its obligations as a quasi-public institution, licensed under its rules and provisions.

"Yours truly,
"SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY,
[signed] "Arnold Petersen,
"National Secretary."

There the matter ended for the time being. Lack of time has thus far prevented our presenting the case to the F.C.C., but this will be attended to at the earliest opportunity, when one or two other somewhat similar cases will be presented to that body.

Chicago, Ill., Station WGN:

On this station, which is owned by Col. McCormick's Chicago *Tribune*,

the Section attempted, without success, to get an S.L.P. speaker on the program "Your Right to Say It," which had twice presented Norman Thomas. The correspondence dates back to April, 1946.

Chicago, Ill., Station WCFL:

Comrade John P. Quinn reported on censorship by the station of his script prepared for a 15-minute broadcast purchased by the Section, for release September 18, 1947:

"Radio Station WCFL objected to the names of Marx and Engels being in the script. I made a special journey to the radio station in company with Comrade Gross in the afternoon and prevailed upon the program director that we had a perfect right to mention the names of Marx and Engels. After some argument he agreed to leave these names in the script. But as soon as I arrived at the station 15 minutes before broadcast time, he informed me that an order had arrived from the station manager that we could not go on the air if we insisted upon mentioning their names. Again I argued, but to no avail. The names had to be deleted or we could not go on. I accepted under protest, and accused the station of gross censorship. The program director sat in the engineer's booth during the program with, I was told, his finger on the switch to shut me off the air in case I tried to mention the names of Marx and Engels."

This mortal fear of even the mention of the names of the two founders of a great historical movement reminds one of nothing so much as the medieval, superstitious fear of naming the devil, or, if his name *had* to be mentioned, of the vigorous crossing of themselves by the devout when the name of the "evil one" was spoken! Perhaps corresponding gestures may be invented that may allay the fear of certain radio executives when the "evil" names of Marx and Engels perforce *must* be mentioned on the air!

Pontiac, Mich., Station WCAR:

The Section tried to purchase time in April, 1947, and after a series of excuses had been made, Station WCAR finally stated that they must refuse political programs on Sunday because they interfere with the religious programs! Subsequent correspondence turned on other excuses, and as far as the National Office knows, the station did not sell the Party time.

Minneapolis, Minn., Station KUOM:

This station had for weeks conducted a public reading of Irving Stone's scandal-mongering book in which Daniel De Leon (and, by inference, the Socialist Labor Party) was so maliciously libeled. A letter of protest had been sent to the station by the organizer of Section Minneapolis, Comrade H. A. Brandborg. The only thing the station did was to mention briefly that a protest had been made, referring the listeners to certain S.L.P. literature having no relevancy whatever to the libels broadcast over the station. A letter was addressed to the station (which is sponsored by, and speaks for, the University of Minnesota — whence its call letters), demanding time to present specific refutation of the Stone libels. A lengthy correspondence followed, which, however, brought no results other than the station's reitera-

tion that it had done "full justice" by simply mentioning the fact of the protest having been received, etc. In a letter to the station dated March 8, 1948, in which the whole incident, and its background, were reviewed, the National Secretary said in part (bearing in mind the connection between Station KUOM and the University of Minnesota, of which Mr. James L. Morrill is the president):

"It is adding insult to injury when you repeat your baseless assertion that you have adequately discharged your obligations by announcing to your listeners that someone 'had objected to Mr. Stone's treatment of Daniel De Leon,' and by referring your listeners to certain books, etc., published by the Socialist Labor Party. A false and slanderous charge demands specific retraction and/or refutation. What you claim to have done does neither. Supposing someone in a book (which you caused to be read over KUOM) had libeled the President of the University of Minnesota by charging him with being a horse thief and a wife-beater, would you consider that you had 'adequately discharged' your obligations by announcing that someone had objected to such statements about the honorable gentleman, and by referring your listeners to certain books he has written?

"You may dismiss such a supposititious charge of libel and vilification of the distinguished gentleman who presides over the destinies of the University of Minnesota as absurd and preposterous. However, it is no more so than your very real and absurd claim that you have discharged your obligations in the matter of your partnership in the infamous libeling of Daniel De Leon, by acting as you claim you did — and not half so reprehensible as the libeling in the *actual* (not supposititious) case of Stone vs. De Leon and the Socialist Labor Party."

This letter remains unanswered to this date. This case will also be submitted to the Federal Communications Commission for its information and records, on the basis of which, in the language of the F.C.C. Secretary, this federal agency determines "upon consideration of each station's application for renewal of its license whether that station has been operated in the public interest during the preceding license period."

To make itself the accessory to the broadcasting of malicious libel hardly comes under the head of a radio station operating "in the public interest"!

*

Last summer the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce conducted public hearings on a bill to amend the Communications Act of 1934, under which radio stations are licensed. Upon our request, the Senate Committee agreed to hear a representative of the Socialist Labor Party, and on June 27, 1947, Comrade Joseph Pirincin appeared before the committee to present the views of the Socialist Labor Party. As part of his testimony, Comrade Pirincin presented a formal statement which is included here for the record:

"The Socialist Labor Party of America (organized in 1876, and reorganized on its present basis in 1890) is deeply concerned about some of the provisions in the bill (S. 1333) designed further to amend the Communications Act of 1934, provisions which, if incorporated in the Communications Act, would adversely affect our constitutional right of free speech through the powerful medium of radio broadcasting.

"The Socialist Labor Party is opposed to that portion of proposed Section 333 (page 30 of the printed bill) that provides that no network would be licensed to provide primary broadcast service 'for more than 25 per centum of the population of the continental United States as determined in the last preceding decennial census.' Such a limitation would impose an unnecessary hardship on broadcasters with limited financial means. It would make it necessary for an organization such as the Socialist Labor Party to purchase time on as many as four networks to obtain national coverage. If it is the intent of the provision to prevent monopoly, the practical working out of it, if adopted, might very well be the establishment of a far more thorough monopoly than exists today, by dividing the nation into four parts, with a single network having what could very well be a broadcasting monopoly in each. If such arbitrary restrictions can be applied to radio, what will there be to prevent the application of similar restrictions to newspapers? The provision is, in our opinion, dangerous in the extreme; it is not in harmony with the constitutional guarantee of free speech, and it is potentially totalitarian in that it sets up governmental controls over the dissemination of ideas by imposing restriction as to territory, etc.

"The Socialist Labor Party is opposed to that portion of proposed Section 315 (page 21 of the printed bill) letter '(c)' which provides that 'No licensee shall, during a political campaign, permit the use of the facilities of a broadcast station for or against any candidate for any public office except . . . (3) by a regularly organized political party whose candidates' names appear on the ballot and whose duly chosen responsible officers designate a person to use such facilities.' The adoption of this provision would nullify the present Section 3.422 of the Federal Communications Committee rules which defines a 'legally qualified candidate.' Keeping in mind the excessive ballot requirements in many states, notably California, Ohio, Illinois and New York, the proposed change would deny the Socialist Labor Party, and other minority groups, an opportunity to broadcast in those states, if they should fail to qualify for a place on the ballot, notwithstanding the fact that we would duly nominate candidates for public office and conduct a campaign in their behalf. To cite a specific instance, we reproduce herewith the letter that was sent by the Federal Communications Commission to radio station WJW, Cleveland, Ohio, when the latter refused to sell time for a broadcast by the Socialist Labor Party's candidate for President of the United States, on the ground that the candidate's name would not appear on the Ohio ballot:

" 'FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION

" 'Washington, D. C.
" 'September 5, 1944.

" 'Mr. W. M. O'Neil, President
" 'Radio Station WJW
" 'Cleveland, Ohio

" 'Dear Sir:

" 'This is in reference to your letters of July 11 and August 11, 1944, which were submitted in response to the Commission's request for your comments concerning the complaint of the Socialist Labor Party that, after having made arrangements for the sale of time to the party for the broadcast of speeches by its candidate for President of the United States, you refused to make available such time. You state that one of the reasons for your refusal to permit the broadcast was that the Socialist Labor Party's candidate "was not on the ballot at the time, and was consequently not a legally qualified candidate."

" 'Section 315 of the Communications Act provides — "If any licensee shall permit any person who is a legally qualified candidate for any public office to use a broadcasting station, he shall afford equal opportunities to all other such candidates for that office in the use of such broadcasting station, and the Commission shall make rules and regulations to carry this provision into effect: *Provided*, That such licensee shall have no power of censorship over the material broadcast under the provisions of this section . . ."

" 'Section 3.422 of the Commission's Rules, adopted pursuant to the foregoing provision, defines a "legally qualified candidate" as follows:

" ' "A 'legally qualified candidate' means any person who has publicly announced that he is a candidate for nomination by a convention of a political party or for nomination or election in a primary, special, or general election, municipal, county, state or national, and who meets the qualifications prescribed by the applicable laws to hold the office for which he is a candidate, so that he may be voted for by the electorate, directly or by means of delegates or electors, and who (a) has qualified for a place on the ballot or (b) is eligible under the applicable law to be voted for by sticker, by writing in his name on the ballot, or by other method, and (1) has been duly nominated by a political party which is commonly known and regarded as such, or (2) makes a substantial showing that he is a bona fide candidate for nomination or office, as the case may be."

" 'It should be noted that Section 3.422 does not require that a candidate's name appear on the printed election ballot. As is pointed out in the rule, a person may be a legally qualified candidate within the meaning of Section 315 even though his name does not appear on the ballot if he possesses the constitutional qualifications for the office and if, in addition, under the applicable law he is eligible to be voted for by sticker or by writing in his name on the ballot and if he has been duly nominated by a political party which is commonly known and regarded as such.

" 'An examination of the pertinent Ohio state's Ohio General Code, Sections 4785-100a, 4785-131 (6), discloses that under the laws of Ohio, a person whose name does not appear on the ballot is eligible to be voted for by writing his name in on the ballot.

" 'So far as appears, no question has been raised concerning the constitutional qualifications of Mr. Teichert to hold the office of President nor is there any dispute concerning his nomination for Presidency by the Socialist Labor Party.

" 'It would appear also that the Socialist Labor Party is "a political party which is commonly known and regarded as such." It appears that the Socialist Labor Party, which was first organized at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in July, 1876, has participated in all Presidential elections since 1892 and that since that time it has either nominated its own candidates for President or has supported the nominees of one of the other minority parties. In this connection, it is significant that the Socialist Labor Party is included in the list of the five political parties recently announced by the War Department as qualified to obtain time for the broadcast of political addresses to American armed forces overseas.

" 'You are therefore requested to advise the Commission promptly as to what steps you intend to take to comply with the requirements of Section 315 of the Communications Act and Section 3.422 of the Commission's rules and regulations.

" 'By Direction of the Commission,
[Signed] " 'T. J. SLOWIE,
" 'Secretary.'

"We believe that the present F.C.C. definition of a legally qualified candidate provides a measure of equal opportunity, whereas the proposed change would deny the use of the powerful medium of radio to candidates who would be kept off the ballot in various states by virtually prohibitive ballot requirements; the proposed change would likewise deny radio listeners the opportunity to hear the discussion of issues of vital concern to them. 'Public interest, convenience and necessity' will best be served by retaining, and, if possible, extending the existing provisions for political broadcasting.

"The Socialist Labor Party favors the proposed two new sections to be added to Section 17. Part 1 of title III, with particular reference to that portion of proposed Section 330 (page 24 of the printed bill) which provides that 'Neither the licensee of any station so used nor the Commission shall have the power to censor, alter, or in any manner affect or control the substance of any program material to be used: *Provided, however,* That no licensee shall be required to permit the broadcasting of any material which advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence . . . etc.' The Socialist Labor Party has encountered repeated difficulties with radio censorship—censorship which resulted in certain radio stations denying us time because they did not agree with our views. In the case of radio station KFRC, San Francisco, California, in December, 1944,

we were told that the station did not believe that 'it would be in the public interest to lend its facilities to the advocacy of the destructive doctrines of Karl Marx,' which was the station's prejudiced and erroneous manner of referring to the civilized program and principles of the Socialist Labor Party. And in the case of WNBH, New Bedford, Massachusetts, we were denied the right to broadcast on January 31, 1946, because, according to James M. Patt, manager of WNBH, 'It was apparent that the text of the proposed broadcast has for its purpose the destruction of our form of government, and, of course, any minor alterations would not alter its purpose.' Here was an obvious case of corporation censorship over political and economic opinions of American citizens. The right to alter or abolish any form of government is inherent in the American tradition, and it is specifically provided for by Article V of the Constitution of the United States. It is to be hoped that the proposed Section 330 will favorably be recommended by the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, and that it will be interpreted as its plain language suggests, i.e., that 'Neither the licensee of any station so used nor the Commission *shall have the power to censor, alter, or in any manner affect or control the substance of any program material so used,*' (emphasis ours) and that this prohibition will apply to 'discussion of public or political questions' as proposed Section 330 provides.

"The Socialist Labor Party respectfully recommends that the portion of proposed Section 330 (page 24 of the printed bill, beginning with line 7) be amplified, i.e., following the word 'questions' (line 12) that the following be added: 'including the views of each political party of record.' This recommendation is made on the basis of our experience with individual radio stations and with the networks. During the recent discussion of the Taft-Hartley Bill, the Socialist Labor Party requested the major networks (A.B.C., C.B.S., M.B.S., and N.B.C.) to give it equal opportunity to present its views on the then pending legislation. Only the A.B.C. network responded with a 15-minute period. M.B.S. admittedly allotted 30 periods for the discussion of this highly controversial (certainly public, and political) question, but the Socialist Labor Party was not included. Mutual's arbitrary decision was that all sides of the question had been heard. Much the same attitude was taken by N.B.C. and C.B.S. It is to be hoped that the adoption of proposed Section 330 will bring relief to minority parties and groups having unique views on important public questions, and especially to an American political party of more than 50 years' standing — the Socialist Labor Party of America — and that the eventual adoption of proposed Section 330 will give full meaning to the radio phrases 'equal opportunity,' and 'freedom of speech' on the air.

"Respectfully submitted,
"SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF AMERICA,
"Arnold Petersen,
"National Secretary.

"New York, N. Y.,
"June 25, 1947."

In his report to the National Secretary, dated July 1, 1947, Comrade Pirincin in part stated:

"The balance of my verbal testimony (about 15 minutes) was devoted to the subject of radio censorship. I enlarged upon the matter of radio censorship, pointing out that the Party was made the victim of irresponsible corporation censorship in many instances. In pointing out that the Party advocates a fundamental change in the present form of government, Chairman White appeared to stiffen, but he seemed to relax when I added that we propose that the change be made by peaceful and legal means. At the conclusion of the hearing, some of the reporters became suddenly interested in the spelling of my name and the capacity in which I represented the Party. Judging from their interest it appeared that we would receive some publicity. Chairman White, after the adjournment, expressed regret that we could not be given more time, and suggested that if we had any specific amendments to propose, to send them on to the committee. I do not know of anything that we can add to what we submitted in the formal statement.

"The signed statement was turned over to Chairman White. All 40 copies of the statement that I placed on the press table disappeared by the time the hearings were concluded . . ."

As far as we know nothing further has been done by Congress to liberalize the act. Perhaps the revered solons have concluded that a little "liberty" of free speech on the air goes a long way, and that it may easily go too far for the "security" of the prevailing order, and for the comfort of those who benefit from the continued preservation of that order!

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In the National Secretary's report to the N.E.C. in session May, 1947, the problem of supplying and ensuring suitable radio talks that measure up to S.L.P. standards was discussed in some detail. The problem is still with us, and not much closer to a proper solution. As stated in that report, "It is a physical impossibility for the National Office to supply original scripts in the quantity and quality needed." And unfortunately the number of comrades throughout the country who are qualified, and possess the technical knowledge and experience to prepare original scripts, is limited. Whenever possible scripts of local origin are forwarded to the National Office before delivery, for review and possible correction. But since many radio broadcasts are arranged on short notice, time does not always permit of such review, etc., as a result of which occasionally S.L.P. radio talks are released which should have been corrected, or which otherwise do not come up to Party requirements. But even if it were possible to have all such talks submitted to the National Office before broadcasting them, the reviewing of them, and the attendant correspondence, throws a heavy burden on the National Secretary and his staff, which at times has seriously interfered with the proper functioning of the National Office. This problem became particularly acute during the summer and fall of 1947 when the talks prepared by one of our younger national organizers were found seriously defective, requiring for review, correction and correspondence, hours and days of the

National Secretary's time. As yet we do not, as stated, know the answer to the problem, but eventually, no doubt, a solution may be found.

We shall no doubt make the fullest use of transcribed radio talks, though this method also at times has its drawbacks. A new invention, the recording of radio talks on wire, is being applied to an increasing extent. Because of the as yet limited use of wire reproducing outfits, the practical application of this new method cannot be fully made, but it seems to have possibilities. Comrade Upton A. Upton of Section Portland, Ore., has reported on experiments made with wire recorded talks. Working together with a local sympathizer (who has recorded talks in this manner), Section Portland made use of wire recorded talks recently. Referring to his Paris Commune celebration talk, Comrade Upton (in a recent letter to Comrade Hass) wrote, in part:

"I heard a part of my address played back over the machine before leaving the hall. Mr. Wagner [the sympathizer] also transmitted your [Hass's] address on the radio to his wire recorder, and reproduced your speech on 'Czechoslovakia' to our members in the hall, after our meeting. It came in clearly, as originally broadcast over the radio . . .

"This is the first attempt of Comrade Baxter, who was our chairman, and myself, in the use of the microphone. It was exceedingly interesting to all of us. Experience gained in this manner may prove of future value, whenever we have occasion to engage in radio broadcasting. The process of wire recording is very inexpensive, as you know, for the record on the wire spool is easily erased, and the wire used repeatedly. Spools now cost approximately $10 for the hour spool of wire, and $5 for the half-hour spool.

"I believe that some radio stations are now equipped, or soon will be, for broadcasting from the wire spool records. The possibilities of this new method for broadcasting are seemingly limitless."

If all that is claimed for this new invention is confirmed, and unless manufacturers of disc records find it possible to delay its practical and general use, we shall no doubt soon hear more of this revolutionary method of broadcasting by transcription.

It goes without saying that the greatest possible use of the radio will be made during the national campaign, and we shall continue to be on the alert for opportunities to share in the free radio time extended to candidates, and others, during the campaign. We must, of course, be prepared to spend considerable sums, the free time available being at best limited as far as our Party is concerned.

(F)

State Fairs

The Party participated in two State Fairs in 1947, the states being Iowa and Minnesota. The Illinois S.E.C. decided to participate in the Illinois State Fair, rental of space having been agreed to, and a deposit paid. Subsequently the check was returned with the explanation that between the time of agreement to rent space to us, and the receipt of the check, the space selected had been rented to someone else by an assistant! Here we find another example

of discrimination presented under a rather crude subterfuge. "Assistants" do not generally go over the heads of their superiors! The S.E.C. will no doubt make efforts to secure space for the 1948 State Fair.

S.L.P. participation in the Iowa State Fair was, in all essential respects, a great success—too great, it would seem, to please the property- and profit-minded elements running the Fair. Some of the details have been reported in the WEEKLY PEOPLE. The Fair was held at Des Moines from August 20 through August 29. National Organizer Dallas Reynolds was sent to Des Moines to assist Comrades L. O. Ludwig and Fred Waitz, both of whom had worked hard previously to ensure success to our participation in the Fair. There can be no doubt that agitationally our booth was a great success, though financially we incurred a heavy loss. That, however, was expected. Through a special committee composed of our comrade artists, W. Steinhilber, M. Herder and P. Herzel, and with the expert help of Comrade D. Nickshich as carpenter, the National Office supplied the decorations and displays. A Massachusetts sympathizer, Mr. H. F. Haggett, generously supplied enlargements of photographs, etc., a most valuable contribution indeed. The entire ensemble was a credit to the S.L.P., proving what top craftsmanship and S.L.P. vision and ingenuity can produce. The cost was rather high, the total coming to approximately $200 (plus $80 for rental of booth), of which approximately $135 was contributed by our Iowa comrades, the balance having been paid by the National Office. In addition there were the week's expenses of Comrade Reynolds, amounting to approximately $75. There was also a storage and trucking charge ($14.50), which Comrade Waitz kindly paid. The over-all cost, accordingly, was somewhat over $350. The four comrades mentioned above worked like Trojans for many days, and sometimes long into the night, and, of course, they contributed their time and services free. The cost of the material, etc., for the construction of the panels, decorations and display pieces, came to about $150, and the cost of expressing it ran as high as $50. The artistic value of the work of these comrades cannot, of course, be measured in dollars, but it is interesting to note what Comrade Reynolds reported on this head. In discussing the cost of the display material, etc., with a member of the art staff of a Des Moines Decorating Company, Comrade Reynolds elicited from him "that the F... Decorating Company would not have turned it out for $2,000."

As said, agitationally the affair was a great success, though unfortunately the sale of pamphlets, etc., was not proportionate to the interest and excitement aroused by the magnificent display and arrangement of material. A total of 311 pieces of literature was sold, bringing in cash the amount of $26.35. A minor incident reported by Comrade Reynolds is of interest in showing how far the S.L.P. casts its beams. As Comrade Reynolds put it in a letter to the National Office:

"An interesting indication of Party activity came today when a profane fairgoer stopped at our booth, gazed a moment, and then said: 'Socialist Labor Party? Jesus Christ, you can't go anywhere in California without being handed one of their d——d papers [meaning our literature]!'"

It is trifling incidents such as this one that lend confirmation to our contentions and belief that S.L.P. activity, far from being in vain, by far is the most effective and most important work done by anyone or any group, anywhere and any time. Let the enemies of working-class emancipation but continue to underestimate the power, influence and effectiveness of the S.L.P. The more they do so, the better and more thoroughly we shall do our work.

Our Iowa Fair exhibit did, indeed, prove much too effective to suit the powers that be. After the exhibit had been set up efforts were made to have the Party withdraw from participation. Comrade Reynolds briefly reported the incident in a letter to the National Office.

"On Saturday two men, representing themselves as the president and the secretary of the fair board, appeared, and, contending that there had been a great many complaints about our exhibit, told us with a good deal of bitterness that we wouldn't be allowed to continue. Whether or not they meant that they expected to have our exhibit removed immediately, or merely expected to prevent us from renting space again next year, we could not discover. They were quite discourteous. They wouldn't give us their names, nor would they send us their protest in writing as we requested.

"Later in the day the fair official in charge of the building in which our exhibit is arrived and asked us if we would remove our exhibit 'like gentlemen and without any controversy and trouble.' He said that the fair board would undoubtedly reimburse us. (We assume that he meant we would get the $80 expended for rent returned.) Obviously, we told him that we wouldn't. He said that the matter would have to be taken up with the board, then, and went on."

The incident gained considerable publicity, both in the press and on the air. One paper, the Des Moines *Tribune*, of August 26, reported the attempted interference by the Fair Board, and a columnist in the same paper, under date of September 1, wrote:

"The Socialist Labor Party maintained its booth throughout the fair, despite the leftist slogans which annoyed the fair board. But it's a good bet that the Marxists will have trouble getting exhibit space next year."

Whether the man had inside information, or whether he just added up the score correctly, he may yet prove to have been a good prophet. When Comrade Ludwig recently sent the superintendent of rentals a check, in order to secure space at this year's fair, the check was returned with the advice that space this year would be rented only to industrial and agricultural groups and establishments. Comrade Ludwig has been urged to keep a close watch so that if space *is* rented to other political parties or groups, we may step in promptly and present our claim. As of the present writing, however, it would seem that we are shut out this year, because we wrought too well last year.

S.L.P. participation in the Minnesota State Fair (held from August 23 through September 1, 1947, at St. Paul) was, if less spectacular, equally successful, and in one respect more so. Comrade Quinn's detailed report was published in the WEEKLY PEOPLE and need not be repeated here. His

brief summary, however, is worth repeating. "There was considerable hostility shown," wrote Comrade Quinn, "tremendous amount of friendliness, and a great deal of indifference. We encountered sneers, scoffing, scorn and snorting, but also a great deal of encouragement. Not the least of this encouragement was caused by a number of people who came to the booth with challenging or scornful remarks, and left it with a much better opinion of the Party after we had a chance to talk to them."

In point of distribution of S.L.P. literature, the Minnesota S.L.P. booth was far more successful than the Iowa booth. Nearly $100 worth ($95.65) of pamphlets were sold, as against little over $26 worth at Des Moines, and 10,000 leaflets were distributed. Names of 53 interested persons were turned in. Apropos of these names, Comrade Quinn observed: "Only the names of those who seemed to hold out some promise of being interested were taken. We could otherwise have received thousands, if we had not been so careful in soliciting names and addresses." Altogether a worthy effort, and greatly to the credit of our Minnesota comrades and Comrade Quinn.

* * * *

Despite the generally unsatisfactory conditions, despite the efforts of the disrupters, and of their capitalist camp allies, the general agitation of the Party was conducted on a fairly high level of activity. Many Sections could certainly have done more and better, some did their full share, and undoubtedly members individually could, as they should, have exerted themselves to a far greater extent than was the case. And speaking of individual members inevitably calls to mind our few lone outposts who, though deprived of the cooperative stimulus and help of an organized Section, carry on tirelessly, sometimes as if they were a whole Section. To single out particular members for special commendation is, generally speaking, to invite indivious comparisons. Since these "lone outposts" are necessarily identified with particular localities, the singling out in such circumstances seems as appropriate as its seems just. Outstanding among these tireless "outposts" is Comrade Keith Dickson of El Paso, Texas, who seldom misses an opportunity for putting in agitational licks for the S.L.P. And while mentioning Keith Dickson it is only fair to add that his wife has rendered valuable service to the Party by rendering important S.L.P. pamphlets into scholarly Spanish translations. For her distinguished services in this respect we are truly grateful.

As a typical example of Comrade Dickson's perseverence and resourcefulness, his effort in securing local release of the recent broadcast "Czechoslovakia—A Warning," may be cited. The talk was released over the local C.B.S. outlet on March 7, at 9:30 p.m. But let Comrade Dickson tell the story in his own words:

"I encountered considerable difficulty in arranging the broadcast, and I am certain that I would have failed if it had not been for the effort of Mr. H. [a local radio station official]. I called Comrade Clow in Denver, Colorado, late at night, March 1, and asked him to have the recording made in Denver and shipped to me, or the radio station. On the morning of the 3rd (noon) I received his telegraphic reply [that it couldn't be done]. I then

called Mr. H. and asked him if he would try Dallas, Texas, and bill me with the charges (I told him that, after all, Dallas wouldn't know me), which he agreed to do. I called him back about five o'clock, to find out what luck he had. He surprised me by saying cheerily, 'Everything's all set, Keith, I had a hell of a time getting that recorded, but I finally wound up by having it done in New Orleans.' At his suggestion, we did not play it back until Sunday, which gave me time to advertise and, also, it seemed to be the best period available. He said he would give us three courtesy spot announcements just as I submitted them. Although I heard none, I assume that they were given. The broadcast was good, except for an imperfection near the beginning of the record..."

Let us just for a moment try to visualize every single member of the Party exerting himself as fully and resourcefully as did Comrade Dickson on this occasion (and, for that matter, on previous occasions), and we should not now be worrying half so much about how we are going to achieve this, or swing that project, etc., etc.!

With characteristic modesty Comrade Dickson concluded his report of this particular effort as follows:

"Please let me know if there are any criticisms. I have to, more or less, wade in on my own down here; so bring me up sharply if I am blundering, or appear to be.

"I am very tired tonight, and this letter looks like the very devil, but I just cannot rewrite it. Please bear with me, it just isn't intended as disrespect."

What a wholesome contrast to the disruptive villains whose enlarged egos and under-developed mentalities prevent their seeing the beam in their own eyes while harping on the mote in the eyes of others.

If eventually, or soon, we do not have a good Section in El Paso (where two score years ago we did have a Section), it will not be for lack of persistent and intelligent effort on the part of Comrade Dickson.

Another "lone outpost" is Comrade Henry Coretz. Technically, Comrade Coretz is really not an outpost, since he belongs to Section Cook County. But because of his profession (he is a musician) he is compelled to travel from place to place, seldom staying long in any one place, including his home city, Chicago. Wherever Comrade Coretz goes, his first act is to look up the local organizer and/or other comrades. His next is to secure a bundle of leaflets (with assistance, if available, without, if necessary) and start distributing. A typical experience of his was in a midwestern city, as reported in a recent letter to the National Secretary. Comrade Coretz in part wrote:

"The membership of the Section held a special party for me Saturday nite (after my job), February 21. I had an opportunity to listen to the Section's *problems*. The meat of their problem boils down to this — it's so difficult to get any activities going — it's so difficult to collect money. I, of course, did not make any suggestions other than the routine: Let's get the leaflets going, and how about doing contact work?

"That suggestion of mine (ours — the Party's) is the answer to their

lack of activity. They have a tendency to kind of let things go till 'mañana.' Then, one thing leads to another, and inactivity starts to breed inactivity.

"They definitely are a 'well-read' and informed Section. Furthermore, they, as individuals, are *not* hiding their S.L.P. light under a bushel. They agitate amongst the workers in their shops constantly. But that isn't enough. They need a 'spark plug' in the Section. (They cooperated with me — as well as I with them — very willingly.) They also need a couple of live-wire S.L.P. *women* in the Section to form the nucleus of an efficient entertainment committee.

"The Section had 800 leaflets ('Push-Button World') on hand. I distributed 400 alone, and had the assistance of Comrade Y... on most of the remaining. (We purposely left over a hundred to cover any emergency, 'til other leaflets could be ordered.)

"My work [as a musician] started about 1:30 p.m., and continued 'til 10:45 p.m. One hour on stage and one hour rest. These hours made it impossible for me to work with the other members on either contact or leaflet work.

"Comrade Y... is not working due to ill health (but not too ill to put out leaflets — in my opinion and *his*). He invited me to his home one morning to have a pleasant chat, and to have me examine some violins. I brought some leaflets along and suggested that we put them out *first*, and then discuss violins. He assured me that if I just left them there, he would put them out Sunday. I persisted. Finally, I explained that since I couldn't be with my own Section, it was my duty and pleasure to work *with* different Sections throughout the country. I didn't want to do this work as an *individual*, but as a member of an organized *group*. I further explained that my hours of work kept me from working with the other members of Section————, and that he was my last *symbol* of working with the Section. I said, 'When I write to Comrade Petersen, I want to be able to say that I worked with "the Section," not just as an individual.'

"His face broke into a big smile as he reached for his coat. 'Will you write Comrade Petersen that I went out with you? Tell him that I've been held down by my nervous breakdown, but I'll be more active now.'... I might add that I received the same warm hand of comradeship that was extended me wherever I met an S.L.P. man."

The receipt of such reports from comrades who are deprived of the pleasure of regular Section teamwork is a veritable tonic to weary minds and drooping spirits. Again, would that every comrade would take his S.L.P. duties and responsibilities as seriously as this young comrade!

[Since the foregoing was written, Comrade Coretz ran into serious trouble in the city of Memphis, Tenn., which is dominated and controlled by the corrupt Crump machine, which belongs in the category of the Pendergast-Kelly-Tammany Hall machines. The story will be told more fully in the WEEKLY PEOPLE, and here the bare facts only will be related. Comrade Coretz, as usual, was engaged in leaflet distribution on Sunday morning,

April 18, 1948, when he was picked up and taken to the police station. He was kept in jail, denied the use of a telephone and the right to secure an attorney. Subsequently he was released without fine or trial of any kind, but after having been fingerprinted, photographed, and sent through the "line-up," like a common criminal.

[This, however, was only the beginning of his troubles. Subsequently he was approached by a newspaper man who wanted "a story," which was given him by Comrade Coretz. Twelve hours after he had been arrested the first time, and while playing in his band, he was arbitrarily rearrested, and again committed to jail in defiance of all legal processes, the charges being a threatened breach of the peace (which is a non-bailable offense), disorderly conduct, and soliciting without a license!

[This being late at night, he was unable to contact an attorney, but was promised the use of the telephone early next morning. When he asked to use the telephone the next morning, his request was refused, and he was held incommunicado, unable to speak to anyone, unable to secure a lawyer or witnesses, etc.

[When subsequently he was brought before a judge and he tried to explain his constitutional rights, citing the Supreme Court decisions, etc., he was roughly cut short by "His Honor" who told him: "Let's not have any long *speeches* on freedom of *speech* . . . We all know about that. Keep your remarks to the subject"!! He was questioned and baited about his religious and political views — "Do you belong to a church?" "Do you believe in God?" etc., etc. — which Comrade Coretz at first declined to answer as being personal matters and totally irrelevant, whereupon the judge again roughly interrupted: "Answer yes or no"; the answers then being "no." He again demanded the right to be represented by a lawyer, but again he was refused. Finally the judge fined him $102, which the National Office (having been contacted by telephone) wired to Memphis.

[His reactionary union followed in the footsteps of the barbaric court by revoking his membership card in the union, which meant the loss of his job then and there. Thereafter Comrade Coretz left the "enlightened" City of Crump, returning to Chicago, from which he wrote the National Office a detailed account of his experiences. Meanwhile a local attorney has been engaged to press a civil action suit, the attorney's fee being $350, which includes cost of possible appeal to a higher court. The incident not merely furnishes an example of the brand of justice handed out in the uncivilized "deep South," not merely illustrates the operations of a corrupt political machine, but it illustrates the increasing current trend toward the brand of police-state methods exemplified so well through the workings of the notorious Un-American Committee at Washington. Law and order, constitutional guarantees, Supreme Court decisions — all these mean absolutely nothing to these political gangsters. Due to distance, and with an inexperienced lawyer, we cannot be too hopeful about the outcome of the case, but under the circumstances there did not seem to be any choice in the matter. To permit this

outrageous incident to pass without attempts at securing proper redress seemed unthinkable.]

Finally, we have a couple of "outposts" who really *are* outposts! There is Comrade Theo. Vaszily, able and devoted member of our Hungarian Federation, who has done excellent work in Honolulu, though it would seem that he is about to return to the mainland. Then there is Comrade George Goodsaid, formerly of Section Washington, D. C., but now residing in Puerto Rico. Comrade Goodsaid is determined to spread S.L.P. education on the island as far as it lies in his power, having secured Spanish and other S.L.P. literature to that end. As Comrade Goodsaid put it recently: "Who knows but that some day, perhaps soon, we shall have a Section of the S.L.P. in Puerto Rico!" Once we came close to having a Section in the Virgin Islands (that was shortly after their purchase from Denmark), but the disruptive work of the Stalinists of that day put a temporary halt to the otherwise very promising efforts toward that end. Perhaps Puerto Rico will get there first!

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Not all members are so situated, nor so constituted, that they are able to do what the "lone outposts" are doing, though it is felt that many more *can*, and therefore *should* do as much. However, there are some things that *all* members can do, even if only occasionally, and that is to write letters to the press. The comrades who have tried it, and especially those who make a regular practice of it, stand as constant reminders to delinquent comrades of what splendid opportunities they are passing up. Let every member constitute himself a "correspondence committee" of one. The result will surprise all of us — and the delinquent ones not the least.

STATE OF ORGANIZATION

A — State Committees and Sections

The national organization of the Socialist Labor Party comprises 67 local Sections, 11 State Executive Committees, 3 Language Federations, and 37 Language Federation Branches. The total number of local Subdivisions of the Party, accordingly, is 104.

CALIFORNIA

There are four Sections in the state of California, namely: Grass Valley, Los Angeles, Oakland and San Francisco. Since the last convention, one Section, Santa Clara County, lapsed, and the remaining members were transferred to the nearest Section. Section Grass Valley is in an extremely poor condition, due entirely to the fact that with the ending of the war many mine workers moved away (after the mines closed down), including some of the members of the Section, making it extremely difficult for the Section to carry on agitation as before. Efforts are being made to strengthen the Section, but, failing in this, Section Grass Valley will probably be declared lapsed at the end of the current year.

The State Executive Committee of California is a well functioning body,

at all times doing its utmost to extend the agitation of the Party throughout the state.

In addition to the local Sections, we have a Bulgarian, a Hungarian, and a South Slavonian Branch. There are also two Weekly People Clubs in the state.

Because of prohibitive election laws, the state was not on the ballot in 1944. However, the state conducted a write-in campaign, 327 votes having been reported cast for our ticket. We may take it for granted that this is not the total vote that was cast for the Socialist Labor Party in California.

COLORADO

In this state we have one Section, Section Denver. This Section has been greatly strengthened since the last convention, partly due to the fact that it was visited by a national organizer, who spent a number of weeks in the state. The Section is doing excellent work, and is expected to give a good account of itself during the coming campaign, and in the months or years to follow.

There are no Language Federation Branches, or Weekly People Clubs, in Colorado.

The Party failed to get on the ballot in Colorado in 1944, but there is every reason to expect that we shall succeed in 1948.

CONNECTICUT

In this state we have five Sections, one Federation Branch, and two Weekly People Clubs. The Sections are Bridgeport, Hartford, New Haven, New London and South Norwalk. This state has suffered considerably during the last year or so, due to the fact that some of the most active and resourceful members have left the state for other parts. Section New London is in a poor condition, but hope is entertained that during the coming campaign, with national organizers visiting the city, it may be possible to reconstitute the Section on a properly functioning basis. There is also a State Executive Committee in this state.

In 1944, 1,220 votes were cast for the Party's ticket.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Section Washington is the only Section in this "district." There are no Federation Branches, nor Weekly People Clubs. Obviously, no election takes place in the District of Columbia, hence no votes cast.

ILLINOIS

In this state we have a State Executive Committee, four Sections, five Language Federation Branches, and one Weekly People Club. This state, and more particularly Section Cook County, suffered considerably from the recent disruption. However, it is, on the whole, in an excellent condition now, all the better for having rid itself of the alien elements.

The four Sections are Cook County, Peoria, Rockford and St. Clair County.

In 1944 there were 9,677 votes cast for the Party's ticket in Illinois.

INDIANA

In this state we have five Sections and three Language Branches, but no Weekly People Clubs. The Sections are as follows: Evansville, Fort Wayne, Indianapolis, Lake County, and St. Joseph County.

Unfortunately, the State Executive Committee has not been functioning too well during the last year or so. Definite improvement in this respect, however, is looked forward to in the near future.

In this state we failed to get on the ballot in 1944, but a write-in vote campaign was conducted. However, whatever votes were cast for the Party's candidates were not counted or credited to the Party.

MASSACHUSETTS

There are four Sections in this state, one Weekly People Club, but no Language Federation Branches. We have a well functioning State Executive Committee in this state. The Sections are Boston, Hampden County, Lynn and Waltham.

The vote cast for the Party's ticket in 1944 was 2,780.

MICHIGAN

In this state we have two well functioning Sections, Wayne County (Detroit) and Pontiac. The last-mentioned was organized since the 1944 convention, and is giving an excellent account of itself.

There are three Language Federation Branches in the state and one Weekly People Club. There is also a State Agitation Committee which is doing excellent work.

In 1944, 1,264 votes were cast for the Party's ticket in Michigan.

MINNESOTA

In this state we have five Sections: Alborn, Duluth, Minneapolis, St. Paul and Winona. There are two Weekly People Clubs. Also a State Executive Committee, but no Language Federation Branches.

In 1944, 3,176 votes were cast in this state for the Party's ticket, which appeared on the ballot under the designation "Industrial Government Party."

MISSOURI

In this state we have two Sections, Kansas City and St. Louis. Kansas City is weak, due largely to the lack of young, vigorous material. Comrade Karl Oberheu, the organizer, is the active spirit and manages to keep the Section going as well as circumstances permit. Section St. Louis is active and doing good work.

There is one Bulgarian Branch in Missouri, and one Weekly People Club.

In 1944, 221 votes were cast for the Party's ticket in this state.

NEW JERSEY

In this state we have three Sections, Cumberland County, Essex County, and Passaic County. There is a South Slavonian Branch, but no Weekly People Club. This state has also suffered considerably in recent years, partly as a result of active members moving out of the state. Section Cumber-

land County (Vineland) was organized since the last convention, and is doing excellent work, giving promise of becoming the leading Section in the state.

In 1944, 6,939 votes were cast for our ticket in this state.

NEW YORK

In New York State we have nine Sections: Bronx County, Erie County, Jamestown, Kings County, Monroe County, Montgomery Co., New York, Onondaga County and Rensselaer County. There is a well functioning State Executive Committee. Also five Language Federation Branches, and two Weekly People Clubs. Most of the Sections are in healthy condition, one exception being Rensselaer County (Troy), which has suffered a gradual decline since the days of the never-to-be-forgotten Paddy De Lee.

In 1944 the vote cast for the Party's ticket (appearing on the ballot under the designation "Industrial Gov't Party") was 14,352.

OHIO

In Ohio we have eight Sections: Akron, Cleveland, Dayton, Hamilton County, Lorain, Salem, Stark County and Steubenville. The State Executive Committee functions excellently. Most of the Sections function fairly well, though one or two could, and should, do much better than is the case.

There are twelve Language Federation Branches in this state, and one Weekly People Club.

The Party did not appear on the ballot in 1944, but conducted a write-in-vote campaign. It succeeded, against great odds, in qualifying in 1946, when 13,885 votes were cast for the Party's candidate for U. S. Senator.

OREGON

There are now two Sections in this state, Portland and Astoria. There is one Federation Branch, but no Weekly People Club. There is also a State Agitation Committee in this state.

A write-in-vote campaign was conducted in 1944, but no votes were credited to the Party.

PENNSYLVANIA

In the "Keystone State" we have six Sections, a well functioning State Executive Committee, one Federation Branch, and one Weekly People Club. The Sections are: Allegheny County, Beaver County, Dauphin County, Erie, Greensburg and Philadelphia. The last-mentioned is doing excellent work and is in a sound condition. The same cannot be said for all the Sections, Dauphin County and Erie both being weak. Erie, though numerically weak, remains agitationally strong, our veteran Comrade Knotek continuing tirelessly, though the years must begin to weigh upon him. He is an honor and a glory to the Party.

The vote in 1944 (when we appeared on the ballot as the "Industrial Government Party") was 1,789.

WASHINGTON

In this state we now have five Sections: Everett, Grays Harbor, Seattle,

Tacoma and Vancouver. There is a State Executive Committee, now in loyal and capable hands. There are no Language Federation Branches in this state, nor as yet any Weekly People Clubs.

The vote cast in 1944 was 1,645.

WISCONSIN

There is one Section in this state, which now functions excellently, that Section being Milwaukee. There is a well functioning State Agitation Committee, and two Federation Branches, but no Weekly People Club.

The vote cast in 1944 for the Party's ticket in Wisconsin was 1,002.

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In the following states there are no Sections, but in the campaign of 1944 the Party appeared on the ballot nevertheless: Iowa (1944 vote: 193), Kentucky (1944 vote: 326), Maine (1944 vote: 335), Virginia (1944 vote: 90).

There is a total of 60 national members-at-large, distributed in 14 states, in Puerto Rico, Alaska, Hawaii and Mexico. As previously mentioned, some of these isolated comrades are doing excellent work in their respective localities.

Three new Sections were added in 1947: Hartford, Conn.; Astoria, Ore.; and Cumberland County, N. J. One Section (Santa Clara County, Calif.) was disbanded.

B —Language Federations

Reports of the Bulgarian, Hungarian, and South Slavonian Socialist Labor Federations, for the past four years, follow:

REPORT OF THE BULGARIAN SOCIALIST LABOR FEDERATION

"To the 22nd National Convention,

"Socialist Labor Party.

"Greetings:

"In reporting on the general activities of the Bulgarian Socialist Labor Federation for the preceding four years, we may state at the outset that generally speaking, the period under review was far less trying and much more encouraging than the previous one. While many obstacles still persisted, some changes that were taking place made the work of agitation much easier. For one thing, the war hysteria, which at first was a serious handicap, was rapidly wearing off with the progress of the terrible slaughter. Then, long before the war was ended, its imperialistic character was becoming glaringly evident for all to see. While the former helped to increase the activity of the membership, the latter prepared the ground for increasingly better reception of our agitation, which in turn kept encouraging the membership to greater effort.

"This resulted in much greater gains than the previous period of four years. Thus, the contributions for the campaign fund of 1944, amounting to $12,117.40, topped the contributions for the previous campaign by

$8,481.66. For the four-year period, $91,663.27 was collected for various funds, an increase of $45,523.19 as compared with the previous four years. The contributions to the National Office of the Party, amounting to $37,-565.60, exceeded the same for the previous four years by $18,899.59. Total receipts and expenditures for the four years ending November 15, 1947, were as follows: Cash on hand from 1943, $5,439.30; receipts, $113,275.23 (an increase of $52,788.63 in comparison with the previous period). Expenditures, $108,443.26. Balance on hand, November 15, 1947, $10,271.27.

"The sales of subscriptions have also gradually increased, and for 1947 amounted to $2,306.64, which exceeded the sales for 1944 by $909.33. To a great extent this is due to the fact that last year we had two men on the road for about four months. By a combination of circumstances, we were fortunate in securing the services of Comrade James Draganoff, of Chicago, as organizer. At the same time, we also secured, as sub-getter, the services of a comrade from Detroit, who in 1945 also made a trip and proved himself very efficient in that field. Another contributing factor was, on the one side, the lifting of the ban on our paper in Canada early in August, 1945, after four long years, and, on the other side, the establishment of postal service with Bulgaria early in May, 1946, which gave us the opportunity of selling subscriptions for these countries.

"Where we did not fare so well, or not nearly so well, was with regard to members. On this score, all we can claim is that we practically held our own. For the period reported, while only 19 new members were admitted, 8 were dropped, 1 was expelled, and 13 died. Thus, we now have 212 members, of whom 189 are naturalized citizens. The Federation has 17 Branches located in the following cities: Detroit, Michigan; Toledo, Akron, Cleveland and Mansfield, Ohio; Chicago, Waukegan, Zeigler and Granite City, Illinois; Syracuse and Lackawanna, N.Y.; Gary and Fort Wayne, Indiana; St. Louis, Missouri; Los Angeles, California; Milwaukee, Wisconsin; and Portland, Oregon.

"For the four-year period: dues stamps purchased, 9,750; exemption stamps furnished, 172.

"The following Party pamphlets have been translated and published in Bulgarian since the last Party convention: 'Workers of the World, Unite!' 'Socialist Labor Party and the Internationals,' and 'Socialist Freedom or Capitalist Serfdom?' Besides, we have published regularly the annual *Almanac*, which, after the ban on advertising in 1944, takes the place of an ordinary propaganda pamphlet.

"With reference to selling subscriptions for Bulgaria, it should be noted that the welcome opportunity did not produce material results. To be sure, the opportunity was very good and we could have procured several hundred subs by this time. There are thousands of workers in Bulgaria who have been in this country and who have read our paper; and many of them would be only too glad of the chance to read it again, especially at this time when there is no Socialist paper in their country. And we know this to be a fact from the many letters we have been receiving. But so far we have found it

very difficult to deliver the paper to the subscribers in Bulgaria. The irregularity in this respect is so outrageous that in many cases only one or two copies have been delivered in a year's time, while in some cases not even a single one. Naturally, those hearing about the irregularity abstain from subscribing, while those experiencing the same do not care to renew. For this reason, while in 1946 we procured over 100 subscriptions in about six months, in 1947 we could secure hardly half that number.

"And the cause of such irregularity? We can only guess. So far we have been unsuccessful in getting any explanation from the responsible authorities. In May, 1947, we wrote to the Postmaster General, calling to his attention the many complaints we were receiving, but apparently to no avail. Then, late in October, a protest was addressed to the gentleman, insisting that he advise us if restrictions are imposed on our paper for whatever reason. This time we learned that our local postmaster had been advised by the Bulgarian Postmaster General that he considers our protest baseless, since the paper is being delivered as received. Evidently in that part of the world it is considered degrading for a high personage, such as the Postmaster General, to communicate with mortals like us. In any event, we still continue to receive complaints.

"We know, of course, that the 'communist' rulers of Bulgaria would never welcome an S.L.P. paper into their domain. For they know, no doubt, that what they are trying to peddle as Socialism has nothing in common with the true, Marxian Socialism that is preached by the Socialist Labor Party. Naturally, they wouldn't like anyone to point this out to the workers in Bulgaria, if they can help it. But, as they have the government in their hands, with all the means available to humbug or to subdue, one would think that they might feel big enough to stand criticism, all the more so since otherwise they would appear to betray the weakness of their position. However, it seems they would rather not take any chances at all.

"What is more, they even expect, or at least apparently hope, to humbug the Bulgarian workers in this country. At any rate, great efforts are being made by their tools in this country to focus all possible attention of the Bulgarian workers on people and things in the 'fatherland.' And to make their efforts more effective, these tools are constantly boosted by government officials in Bulgaria, either through sending them congratulations on different occasions, or through having their government representatives in this country attend their affairs, and thus enhancing their prestige in the eyes of their dupes; or by sending special news or articles to their paper, in the hope of boosting its influence, and so on. However, it is hardly necessary to point out that with all the moral support they are getting, their tools appear ever more ridiculous in the eyes of the intelligent workers. For these tools, while praising to high heaven the 'building of Socialism' in Bulgaria, at the same time, and as fervently, praise the so-called third party of Henry Wallace and his stand for 'progressive capitalism.'

"It is to be regretted that we still find it difficult to solve the problem of an organizer. Last year's performance was an exception, there being no

hope of its ever being repeated. Our difficulties derive, to a great extent, from the fact that our field is not large enough to justify a permanent organizer. Our field is such that one can make the rounds in three or four months, and the best times are early in spring and late in fall. Perhaps it wouldn't be so bad if our employees were entitled to unemployment insurance benefit. To get around the obstacles, it was proposed to employ one more at the National Office. Thus, with the extra help, it would be possible for those at the National Office to take turns in making the regular agitation tours. This appears to be a happy solution, and the plan was approved by the 1946 convention. But, so far, we have been unsuccessful in finding a comrade capable of taking the job, and willing to do it. And thus matters stand. However, it now appears that the problem will soon be solved. And this raises the hope of greater activities and of still greater gains in the near future.

"Fraternally submitted,
[signed] "Theo. Baeff,
"National Secretary.

"Granite City, Ill.,
"March 27, 1948."

REPORT OF THE HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST LABOR FEDERATION

"To the 22nd National Convention,
"Socialist Labor Party.
"Greetings:

"Reporting about the activities of the Hungarian Socialist Labor Federation for the last four years, I can state that the membership again proved that we can keep our ground and even make progress.

"We had an organizer in the field for several months every year. Most likely, Comrade Theodore Vaszily will be employed again as national organizer in this campaign year.

"In the last two years, we were on the radio in Detroit, Mich. A total of 21 five-minute lectures was delivered, 18 by Comrade Louis Herczeg and 3 by Comrade Vaszily.

"This year, in February, a new Branch was organized in Los Angeles, Calif., with 14 members. We have Branches in Akron and Cleveland, Ohio; Detroit, Mich.; New York, N. Y.; Pittsburgh, Pa.; and South Norwalk, Conn. Our total membership now is 81; 79 in 7 Branches and 2 members-at-large.

"We have A Munkas Clubs in Akron, Cleveland, Detroit and Los Angeles. They did splendid work in collecting funds.

"Two Branches had lectures and study-class discussion meetings; the others were unable to arrange for these activities.

"Our conventions are now held annually and with progressive successes in collecting funds for our paper and for the WEEKLY PEOPLE.

"Our main sources of income in the last four years were: From dues stamps $938.40; subscriptions $6,639.28; sale of literature $2,680.78; A

Munkas Guard $3,370; general fund $30,920.47; advertisements in *May First* magazine $2,700. With other items, a total of $51,707.28 was received.

"We have sent to the National Office of the Party in the four years: WEEKLY PEOPLE subscriptions, $458.66; Weekly People Press Fund, $3,322; Weekly People Bazaar Fund, $272.50; Christmas Box, $31; Henry Weber Fund, $72; Mileage stamps, $259; Campaign Fund, $851.82; New Machinery Fund, $179.50; National Organizer Fund, $38. Total $5,484.48.

"Last year we republished 3,000 copies of De Leon's 'Socialist Reconstruction of Society.' We also published 1,500 copies in pamphlet form of Comrade Herczeg's radio broadcasts. We are publishing annually a *May First* magazine, and one volume of Sue's 'Mysteries of the People.' A total of 17 volumes has been published thus far.

"Since postal service was resumed with Europe, we are sending our paper to the trade unions of Hungary. Our members and sympathizers are subscribing to *A Munkas* for their relatives in Hungary. We have received very encouraging letters telling us that they like our paper for the Marxian standpoint we take.

"We have a fund for free literature, and we have sent to Hungary, up to February 28, 1948, a total of $408.31 worth of literature and *A Munkas*.

"The biggest public library of Hungary, located in Budapest, requested us to send it all available back volumes of *A Munkas*, going back to the first issue of November, 1910. We shall send them what we have. We have already sent a complete set of S.L.P. literature to this library.

"The Social Democratic party's Educational Bureau thanked us for the 50 sets of S.L.P. literature we had sent them and stated that they were distributed among the biggest sections they have.

"We also offered free literature to the Communist party, but it has not answered our letter. Although Lenin recognized the greatness of Daniel De Leon, the so-called Leninist-Stalinists quite clearly do not care to learn from De Leon.

"Some of our ex-members, who went back to Hungary after the First World War, are corresponding with us and are thankful for the literature and copies of *A Munkas* we are sending them. The 'Stalinist Imperialism' pamphlet was published in *A Munkas*, as was the lecture on 'Daniel De Leon: Internationalist.' They write to us that these were eye openers to them.

"Both the Social Democrats and the 'Communists' over there claim to be Marxists, but, strangely enough, at the present time they are calling all hands 'to build up a Socialist State.' The trade unions, which are almost completely in the hands of the Stalinists, are organizing competitions in the factories with the slogan of Rakosi, the 'Communist' leader: 'The country is yours, build it up!' The piece-work system is praised as a steppingstone to Socialism. Rakosi, in a recent speech, stated that 'out of 600,000 workers, 400,000 are now employed by the government; therefore, they are working for themselves and not for the profit of capitalists.'

"It is stated that most of the factories are government property, that is, are owned by the State, while in others the Russian Soviet government owns

51 per cent of the shares. The question is: Do the workers really work for themselves?

"Hundreds of thousands of war prisoners from Hungary are still in Soviet Russia. Those who were released are either sick or cripples, unable to slave for the Stalinist bureaucracy.

"At the writing of this report, it is rumored that the Social Democratic party will be swallowed up by the Stalinist Communist party. Although the Social Democracy has a 75-year standing, and has kept up its papers and institutions, most likely it will be liquidated. Some of the leaders, members of the parliament, were forced to resign. Others flocked to the Stalinist camp and some escaped from the country, as they were charged with being conspirators 'in the pay of Western imperialists.'

"The so-called peasant leader, former Prime Minister Frank Nagy, and others, are now in this country and are being used by the capitalist press as 'martyrs of freedom,' 'victims of the Stalinist tyranny,' etc. It is stated that ex-Prime Minister Frank Nagy received $30,000 for the three articles he sent to the *Saturday Evening Post.*

"It is interesting to note here that a Hungarian Nazi, Frank Vajta, who escaped from Austria from the American Army's detention camp, arrived in the United States with the help of a Vatican high priest. He tried to establish himself in this country, but failed. A cry went up against him and he is now detained at Ellis Island. Although the Hungarian government wants him back as a war criminal, alleged thief and murderer, it is not certain that the request of the Hungarian government will be granted. Most likely, this Nazi gangster will be sent back to Spain, from which he arrived.

"The 'patriotic' leaders, priests, ministers and fraternal order executives are again showing their true colors by scaring their dupes with fantastic tales about the 'red menace,' stating that the government of this country will deport all those who are subscribers to 'red' papers. We are proud to state that none of our subscribers were scared away from us. Far from it. We are getting better support from our readers than ever before.

"Before closing, I wish to state that the books of the Federation were audited by a public accountant and financial statement, etc., are herewith enclosed. Besides the amount shown in this report, the Branches have sent in some hundreds of dollars for the different funds direct to the National Office.

"We shall do our best to spread the teachings of the Socialist Labor Party, and I am sure that the members will give their full cooperation to the Sections in making this Marxian centennial year the best campaign year the S.L.P. ever had, so that we can march onward victoriously to our goal, the abolition of wage slavery and the establishment of the Socialist Industrial Republic of Labor.

"Fraternally submitted,
[signed] "Alex Kudlik,
"National Secretary.

"New York, N. Y., March 7, 1948."

Hungarian Federation Receipts and Expenditures
1947

Balance as of Jan. 1, 1947	$ 8,702.31
Receipts	13,002.10
	$21,704.41
Expenditures	11,090.84
	$10,613.57

REPORT OF THE SOUTH SLAVONIAN SOCIALIST LABOR FEDERATION

"To the 22nd National Convention,
"Socialist Labor Party.
"Greetings:

"The difficulties and obstacles encountered in propagating the revolutionary program of the Socialist Labor Party among South Slavonian workers, which were recited in our Federation's report to the 21st National Convention of the Party four years ago, continue to persist.

"Following the Stalinist seizure of State power in Jugoslavia, their local agents on the one hand, and the Croatian and Serbian bourgeoisie on the other, created a greater division and a greater confusion among South Slavonian workers. The Stalinists succeeded in deceiving a considerable number of South Slavonian workers, otherwise instinctively inclined toward Socialism, by selling them a bill of goods that in the present Jugoslavia there is complete freedom and equality and that the workers are no longer exploited, even though they admit that the workers in that "free" land work for wages. A goodly number of workers have swallowed the Stalinist bait, with the result that the Stalinists are taking advantage of them in every conceivable way.

"As has been their custom in the past, whenever there was an opportunity, the Stalinists are collecting funds for the starved and semi-starved masses of Jugoslavia. They have organized the 'American Committee for Jugoslavian Relief,' which in 1945, according to their own published report, collected nearly $750,000 in cash and goods. Of this amount, according to their own admission, they spent more than $200,000 for administrative purposes.

"Such is the nature of Stalinist 'humanitarianism.' It is a measure of their concern for the poverty-stricken masses of Jugoslavia, and elsewhere. Obviously, the Stalinists have converted the plight of starving masses into a profitable business.

"We expose such, and like, machinations of the Stalinists, pointing out to the South Slavonian workers that the Stalinists are their enemies, and the enemies of the working class as a whole. And we believe that in the not-too-distant future some of their misguided followers will see the light and turn their backs to the Stalinists.

"On the other hand, the Serbian and Croatian chauvinists have organ-

ized a goodly number of South Slavonian workers into fraternal, religious, 'enlightenment,' singing and sport societies, which are held under the control of these chauvinists. These societies have huge treasuries, amounting to millions of dollars. They publish daily and weekly papers; they hold large mass meetings, conventions, and other gatherings, and so keep an eye on their victims.

"In such ways Tito's agents poison the minds of one group of South Slavonian workers with Stalinist bureaucracy; agents of the Croatian bourgeoisie, another portion with Croatian chauvinism; agents of the Serbian bourgeoisie, with Serbian chauvinism. These three groups constitute the stronghold of South Slavonian reaction, against which our Federation battles. It is a difficult and trying task, but it must be done. For this purpose our Federation was organized; for this purpose we publish our *Radnicka Borba* — to tear down the walls of reaction that prevent us from reaching the South Slavonian workers with the Party's program for human emancipation.

"Every issue of *Radnicka Borba* is devoted to this end. In every issue we expose mercilessly the traitorous role of these organizations, which are tools of the reaction and enemies of South Slavonian workers, and the workers as a whole. But regardless of how mercilessly *Radnicka Borba* hammers away, regardless of how much we expose their anti-working-class stand, not one of them dares to speak in self-defense. They are silent as the tomb, reasoning, no doubt, that a conspiracy of silence is their best defense.

"The conspiracy-of-silence attitude of the South Slavonian Stalinist press in the United States and Canada is also the attitude of Tito's press in Jugoslavia. Until recently, we received about a half dozen various publications from Jugoslavia, in return for which we sent them our *Radnicka Borba.* Not a single issue of any one of them contained as much as a word of defense against our merciless condemnation of the fraud they call 'Free Jugoslavia.' At this writing, we receive only one publication from Jugoslavia; they receive many copies of the *Radnicka Borba.* Their attitude is understandable. They were unable to defend themselves against the devastating arguments of Marxian Socialism directed at their bureaucratic State; they feared that the compelling logic of Marxism might conceivably affect some of those who would be exposed to it. And that wouldn't be so good for the Tito regime.

"Officially, *Radnicka Borba* is permitted to enter Jugoslavia. But our subscribers in Jugoslavia receive very few of the copies sent to them; some of them have not received a single copy. One of our members sent in a subscription for his nephew in Jugoslavia. That was a year ago. To date he has not received a single copy. The same member sent his nephew a copy of our annual *Almanac.* The addressee was called to the post office in Jugoslavia and was shown the *Almanac* — but it was not given to him. The authorities told him that they must first send it to Belgrade for inspection, and when it was returned they would turn it over to him. So it remained. He did not receive the *Almanac.*

"Another example of how our subscribers 'receive' *Radnicka Borba* in

Jugoslavia is the case of one of our former members (M. Vojnovich), who wrote recently that of the 21 issues of *Radnicka Borba* sent to him he received six. About a year ago he requested a few copies of all Party pamphlets translated into South Slavonian. They were sent to him on April 3, 1947, and we advised him accordingly. Four months later we received a letter from him, in which, among other things, he wrote:

" 'In your letter of April 3 you say that you sent the pamphlets, that is, more than four months ago, and the pamphlets have not arrived. Four months should be sufficient if they traveled at the pace of a snail. Since they have not arrived by now, it is doubtful that they will arrive at all. It seems to me that someone does not like the pamphlets. That could be the reason for their long journey. But, as I said, it is highly questionable whether they will arrive at all.'

"This should suffice to show that not only are *Radnicka Borba* and our literature not welcome in Tito's Jugoslavia, but that the powers that be are desperate in seeing to it that our publications do not get into the hands of workers and poor peasants in Jugoslavia.

"It is clear, then, that our one-time hope that a large number of South Slavonian workers would become familiar with our message, once *Radnicka Borba* and our literature could enter Jugoslavia, did not materialize. And it is quite certain that this hope will not be realized so long as the Stalinists or their equivalent are in control.

"Meanwhile, in the true spirit of the fighting S.L.P., we have implicit faith in our class. We know that eventually the workers of Jugoslavia, and other countries under Stalinist domination, including the workers of Soviet Russia, will become totally disillusioned and see the Stalinist fraud for what it is. We are firmly convinced that eventually workers everywhere will realize the need of ending all forms of oppression by establishing the Socialist society of peace and freedom for all. Until then, we shall continue with our merciless exposures of everything that is anti-working class. And with redoubled effort we shall work as we never worked before to educate and organize the South Slavonian workers in America so that they may be prepared to take their place with their fellow workers in ending the capitalist system of wage slavery, and in establishing the classless society of Socialism.

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"In our report to the 21st National Convention we reported having 15 Branches, with 167 members, including 6 members-at-large. As of December 31, 1947, we had 14 Branches, with 167 members, including 7 members-at-large. The reason for the loss of one Branch in 1947 is the merger of Branch Bellwood with Branch Chicago. This became necessary as a result of the removal to Los Angeles of several of the more active members of Branch Chicago. It was at the suggestion of Branch Chicago that the merger was initiated and completed by the Central Committee. Agitation in the territory formerly covered by Branch Bellwood has not been neglected; it is now under the jurisdiction of Branch Chicago.

"We have Branches in the following cities: Akron, Cleveland, Cincinnati,

Dayton, Steubenville, and Youngstown, Ohio; New York and Lackawanna, N. Y.; Hoboken, N. J.; Detroit, Mich.; East Chicago, Ind.; Chicago, Ill.; Milwaukee, Wis.; and Los Angeles, Calif. In addition to the Branches we have 3 Radnicka Borba Clubs in the following cities: Chicago, Ill.; Detroit, Mich.; and Milwaukee, Wis. The three R. B. Clubs have been of great help to the Federation and to the Party. For the period of four years they contributed: to *Radnicka Borba*, $4,520; to the WEEKLY PEOPLE, $1,775. A total of $6,295.

"In South America we have one group of De Leonists in Montevideo, Uruguay. The group is quite active among South Slavonian as well as among Spanish-speaking workers. Their efforts to organize a Spanish-speaking group of De Leon's followers have not, at this writing, materialized. They are continuing their efforts in this direction.

"In Buenos Aires, Argentina, we have no organized group. But we do have a fine group of loyal sympathizers who continue working and propagating the S.L.P. program among their fellow workers.

"The Montevideo group conducts organized activity. It purchased 1,200 copies of Party pamphlets translated into Spanish. Every year it purchases a considerable quantity of our South Slavonian literature. Our sympathizers in Buenos Aires purchased 200 copies of Party pamphlets translated into Spanish. The Montevideo group and the sympathizers in Buenos Aires sold literature — Spanish and South Slavonian — totaling $252.85. Actually, their total sales amount to more than $500, since the Federation and the National Office allow them a discount of 50 per cent.

"During the past four years the following Party pamphlets have been translated and published: 'What is Socialism?' 1,510; 'Socialist Freedom or Capitalist Serfdom?' 1,496; 'Democracy: Past, Present and Future,' by Arnold Petersen, 1,598; 'Capital and Labor,' by Arnold Petersen, 1,496.

"In addition to the above we published 4 annual *Almanacs* totaling 12,677 copies. Total number of pamphlets and *Almanacs* published, 18,777.

"For the four-year period we sold literature in the amount of $6,124.98, an increase of $1,496.93 over the previous four years.

"At our annual convention in 1947 we celebrated the 40th anniversary of *Radnicka Borba*. A special anniversary issue of 8 pages was published for the occasion. The celebration was successful in every respect. At this convention we succeeded in solving a problem that has plagued us for a number of years — the editorship of *Radnicka Borba*. Comrade L. Petrovich, who formerly edited *Radnicka Borba* for nearly 25 years, accepted the post. The good news was received by the Federation's membership most enthusiastically.

"The subscription list of *Radnicka Borba* shows an improvement over the previous four years, but not nearly so great an improvement as we had hoped for and expected. The reasons have already been stated. We do, however, hope to maintain a steady increase in subscriptions.

"The Federation more than met its quota for the 1944 National Campaign Fund — we exceeded it by $5,000 . The total amount sent for the 1944 National Campaign Fund was $15,795. Every effort is being made to meet

the Federation's quota for the 1948 National Campaign Fund, which is more than double the 1944 quota. To date, 80 members have pledged six days' wages; more than 100 are purchasing 'Voluntary' Assessment stamps.

"In view of the fact that the National Office is supplied with a detailed statement of the Federation's finances, prepared by our accountant, and approved by our Auditing Committee, we herewith submit over-all totals:

"Balance on hand, June 30, 1943, $7,101.89; recepits for 4-year period: contributions to *Radnicka Borba*, $50,062.27; subscriptions, $7,563; dues stamps, $2,736.40; for Party funds, $27,114.71; printing plant, $3,801.58; *Almanac* ads, $4,928.52; literature, $6,124.98; miscellaneous, $3,700.64. Total receipts, $113,133.99. Total expenses, $95,211.09. Balance on hand, June 30, 1947, $17,922.90.

"The Federation was unaffected by the conspiracy against the Party of a year ago, except for a few members in Branch Chicago. Despite the fact that our 1947 annual convention unanimously adopted a resolution endorsing the acts of the National Organization in connection with the disruption, the Chicago members in question remained adamant in their stand, which was, in effect, support for the disrupters. Special efforts were made, both through personal visits and through correspondence, to have these members see the error of their ways. But all this was in vain. They persisted in their erroneous interpretation of Party discipline. Eventually, charges were preferred against them. They were tried in keeping with the Party's Constitution and rules of procedure, found guilty and expelled. Having been freed of the disruptive element, Branch Chicago already shows signs of increased activity, which for a time was seriously hampered by the disruptive element.

"We have spoken of obstacles and difficulties. But obstacles and difficulties notwithstanding, the South Slavonian Federation is mighty proud to be a part of the great working-class movement that so valiantly upholds the immortal principles of Marx, Engels and De Leon; we are proud to be a part of the great working-class movement whose program and principles alone offer hope to the workers of America and of the world; we are proud to be a Subdivision of the Socialist Labor Party of America — the incarnation of the principles of the 'Communist Manifesto,' the one hope that the workers of the world will unite, that they will break the chains that bind them, that they will gain the world that is rightfully theirs. And we mean to translate our pride into greater and greater activity, and never to let up until the horrible darkness of capitalism is pierced and dispelled by the rays of the glorious sun of the Industrial Republic of Free and Emancipated Labor.

"Fraternally submitted,
"Central Committee, South Slavonian Federation S.L.P.,
[signed] "P. Slepcevich,
"Federation Secretary.

"Cleveland, Ohio,
"March 25, 1948."

C — S.L.P. Esperanto Agitation

Comrades Theodore Weder, of Section New York, and George Falgier, of Section St. Louis, have been appointed by the National Executive Committee to function as a committee to explore and exploit the possibilities of S.L.P. propaganda through the international Esperantist movement. Considerable progress has been made in the brief existence of this committee. Both comrades are capable workers in this field, and to his knowledge of Esperanto, and the workings of this movement throughout the world, Comrade Weder adds the knowledge and deep understanding of S.L.P. principles born of many years of membership in the Party. While all Esperantists are not Socialists, or interested in Socialism, a great many of them are. And through their primary and common interest in Esperanto, many intelligent workers in different countries are induced to read S.L.P. literature when presented to them in Esperanto. It is believed that this effort will prove fruitful for the Party.

Comrade Weder has prepared a report on work done and results achieved in this field through his and Comrade Falgier's cooperative efforts. The report follows:

REPORT ON S.L.P. ESPERANTO ACTIVITIES 1947-48

"Mr. Arnold Petersen,
"National Secretary, S.L.P.
"Dear Comrade Petersen:

"In accordance with your request of March 11, 1948, to submit a report on S.L.P. activities in the Esperanto field for inclusion in the report to the national convention, I am glad to be able to say that we have used our spare time well this past year in trying to establish contacts among Esperantists to make them acquainted with the principles of De Leonism, and to induce them to read and study S.L.P. literature, either directly in Esperanto or, indirectly, in the foreign language literature published by the Socialist Labor Party.

"In the report to last year's session of the N.E.C. of the Party, I gave an outline of the purpose and scope of the activities carried on by myself and Comrade Falgier; and, pointing to that report for the sake of better understanding and continuity, I say that while we have not accomplished all we set out to do, we have done many other things and accomplished results that we did not dare to hope for.

"The attempt to negotiate an agreement by which translations of selected S.L.P. literature were to appear in a supplement to *Sennaciulo*, the official paper of 'S.A.T.' ('Non-Nationalist World Association of Workers' Esperantists'), came to nought, mainly because of fears that the S.L.P. might establish some sort of 'ideological hegemony' over other 'tendencies' in the so-called labor movement and cause these latter to protest and to set up the cry of 'usurpation of privileges,' etc.

"As a consequence, the various translations made were mimeographed

by Comrade Falgier and combined in a three-page 'leaflet,' the text of which was approved by the N.E.C. Sub-Committee. It was subsequently mailed to about 500 Esperantists.

"The contents of that leaflet, named the 'S.L.P. Folio No. 1,' consisted of 'The Party's Stand'; 'Aims of the S.L.P.'; and the 'Declaration of the Fundamental Principles of the S.L.P.,' with some other small notes.

"During the period covered by this report, *Sennaciulo* (see above) published three lengthy articles, containing large quotations from, or references to, S.L.P. literature, or to the Party's uncompromising posture on the class struggle.

"These publishing activities evoked the following results:

"Acknowledgments received to date, March 20, 1948:

		Type of Acknowledgments:		
Country	*Number*	*Non-Committal*	*Approval*	*Enthusiastic Approval*
Austria	7	3	4	
Czechoslovakia	2		2	
Denmark	1		1	
England	1		1	
Finland	3		3	
France	12	4	8	
Germany	35	5	20	10
Hungary	3		3	
Jugoslavia	3	1	2	
Netherlands	14	3	11	
Portugal	1		1	
Rumania	2		2	
Sweden	4	3	1	
Japan	2		2	
Belgium	3	3		
Bulgaria	3	1	2	

"Requests for foreign-language literature, 35; requests for Esperanto literature (S.L.P.), 47; requests for more information, 36.

"(Remarks: Some of the explicit or enthusiastic approvals range from tempered expressions, such as the following: 'All Party programs, made known heretofore, promise no possibilities of attaining concrete results. We must search and step out on a new way. Your program, clear as to aims, is very sympathetic and worthy to be made known,' to those which proclaim the writers ready to set up a party organization. The more prudent ones promise to learn, study and set up study circles; or promise to read S.L.P. material in groups or factory meetings.)

"In support of this sentiment among our contacts abroad, an appeal has been drawn up for *Sennaciulo*, in which the S.L.P. Esperanto Committee steps out as the 'De Leonist Faction in S.A.T.,' seeking students and friends for De Leonism and readers of S.L.P. foreign-language literature, and,

eventually, members of 'the faction.' The appeal is scheduled to appear in April, but may be delayed until May of this year. The appearance of such appeals and organizational activity announcements, as was pointed out in last year's report to the N.E.C. session, is conditional upon our formal factional or committee standing. As we enjoy this standing now, we may make claims upon free space periodically, and it must be granted without quibbling.

"In going so far, the question arises for the committee: Just how far is it to go in its organizing activities? Is it to restrict itself to issuing texts for an international correspondence study course of De Leonism, or is it to go ahead with the formation of an international language federation? The latter is implicit in the former, but the course should be set by Party authority. I recommend that we go the whole way.

"*Sennaciulo* is pledged to publish one by one the following articles: 'Source of Profits and Wages,' from 'What Means This Strike?'; the appeal, as reported above; 'Socialism Abolishes the State' (a De Leon editorial); 'Religion, Is It the Opium of the People?' a WEEKLY PEOPLE answer; 'How Democracy Works in the U.S.,' a rearrangement of the text of the S.L.P. leaflet, 'Off the Ballot—Why?'

"If the pledge is kept, as it is fairly certain that it will be, our activities for many months ahead appear well supported, and we should be able to make solid progress.

"Independently, the committee has at hand enough material for a 'No. 2' of 'The S.L.P. Folio.' It awaits mimeographing by Comrade Falgier. In addition, we have at hand translations from 'As To Politics,' 'Socialist Freedom vs. Capitalist Serfdom,' and 'De Leon: Internationalist.' As soon as one translation is completed, we shall try to get it published through 'S.A.T.' In fact, it has been agreed that 'a catechism of De Leonism should be included in a series of editions' of pamphlets now planned by 'S.A.T.'

"Requests for foreign-language literature will be honored as they arrive. The Committee would like to receive from the National Office, free of cost, as in the past, such quantities of literature as may be required to cover the requests. In most cases it concerns literature that remains unused in stock at National Headquarters. No income can be expected in this connection, because money remittance from abroad is impossible. However, if possible, the committee will obligate recipients of literature to aid our publicity efforts.

"We have received some publicity, and results may be noted in the following: The mentioning of our publications in three Esperanto periodicals. One Myron Mychajlew, presumably the editor of the 'Ukrainian Esperantists,' promised to get extracts from S.L.P. literature published. Justo Boberg, Enskede, Sweden, promised to place a review of the 'S.L.P. Folio' in a Swedish periodical, and the editor of an illustrated, multilingual magazine, appearing in Europe, promised a write-up of 'Socialist Freedom or Capitalist Serfdom,' featuring the fact of our multi-lingual propaganda literature.

"There is much incidental work connected with the activities of the committee, such as personal replies to correspondents, the writing of appropriate form letters accompanying pamphlets, and some record-keeping.

"No record has been kept of our expenses; at least not by myself, and apparently not by Comrade Falgier. Therefore, we do not know what the cost of the maintenance of these activities would be if the Party had to defray the expenses. This may be looked upon as a fault, and, perhaps, be found corrigible.

"Considering the spirit of the response the S.L.P. Esperanto Committee has been getting, we may rightly say that our efforts have been well compensated. The internationalist Socialist revolutionary principles of the S.L.P. are taking root in the non-nationalist soil of the Workers' Esperantists and in other places. If we continue to till the soil and plant the seeds of De Leonism, uninterrupted by newly threatened war, and allow time for germination, a steadily and soundly increasing interest should manifest itself and result, perhaps, even in proper organization.

"The approval of the activities of the Esperanto Committee by the National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party places our Party in the position of being there first, not with the strongest battalions, but surely with the soundest message. Thus we shall not be found wanting in our contribution to the strengthening of the hope of the future, the Socialist World of Tomorrow.

"Fraternally submitted,
[signed] "Theodore Weder

"New York, N. Y.,
"March 25, 1948."

The possibility of launching an international S.L.P. Esperantists movement should be given careful consideration by the Party. Obviously, a great deal of agitation will have to be done before we reach the actual organizing stage. Nothing should be done precipitately. This convention may wish to indicate its approval (or disapproval, as the case might be) of efforts to be made in this direction.

D — Party Membership

During the year of 1947 the sale of dues stamps amounted to $3,922.10, an increase of approximately $58 over the preceding year. The number of dues stamps sold decreased somewhat, the total for 1947 being 17,200, as against 17,617 for 1946. During 1947 a total of 730 exemption stamps were supplied, as against 746 for 1946. There was an increase in the number of dues stamps purchased by State Executive Committees amounting to approximately 560, whereas there was a decrease in the number purchased by the Federations amounting to 1,000, accounting for the net decrease.

On the basis of dues stamps sold, exemption stamps supplied, and reports filed with the National Office by the Subdivisions, the total membership shows a net decrease of 58. During the year, 61 new members were admitted, 82 were transferred. Death claimed 18 members, 46 were dropped for nonpayment of dues, 9 resigned, and 46 were expelled. The last-mentioned figure includes the number of traitors and conspirators who were eliminated from

our ranks during the disruptive assault on our Party. While here and there there are weak Sections, and too many inactive members, on the whole the Party is now in a much healthier condition than a year or so ago. The elimination of the scoundrels and fools who thought they could destroy or capture the Party for their evil anti-Marxist purposes resulted in a strengthening of the Subdivisions affected.

A greater sense of moral responsibility to Party duties and needs on the part of some members, a closer attention and alertness to opportunities for enlarging the field of Party activities on the part of some Subdivisions would add immeasurably to the strength and striking power of the organization. In some quarters — fortunately not to any alarming degree — it may be said that we are our own worst enemies. It is trite to observe, but the fact remains true now as in the past, that an alert, watchful and well-posted membership remains our strongest safeguard and security against assaults from without, and plottings from within the Party.

E — Study Classes

Sixty-two study classes were conducted in 1947, by thirty-eight Sections, a wholesome increase over the year preceding, when thirty-one Sections conducted fifty classes. Of the sixty-two classes, thirty-seven were for beginners, eleven for advanced students, and two for the training of speakers, etc. In California, Comrade H. Steiner conducted discussion groups. In 1947 there were thirty Sections that failed to conduct study classes, as against thirty-six in 1946. Some of these thirty are so constituted that they could hardly be expected to conduct study classes, but most of them, it is believed, could do so if determined efforts were made. Among the outstanding Sections that failed must be mentioned such as Erie County (Buffalo), Onondaga County (Syracuse), and Monroe County (Rochester), in New York State; Minneapolis, Minn.; Lynn, Mass.; Tacoma, Wash., and others. Our two new Sections, Astoria, Ore., and Cumberland Co., N.J., have thus far failed to take advantage of the opportunities offered through study classes, but it is hoped they will soon find their stride in this, as in other respects.

The "Guide for Study Class Instructors," issued in 1946 by the N.E.C., has met with general approval. Our greatest problem is still that of developing enough competent and well-trained study class instructors. It is to the solution of this problem that we must primarily address ourselves at this time.

F — Weekly People Clubs

There was a total number of fourteen Weekly People Clubs in 1947, of which twelve were active. In the order of the amount of funds raised during 1947 (with corresponding figures for 1946), the following were the Weekly People Clubs conducted by the Sections:

Weekly People Club of	1947 *Totals*	1946 *Totals*
Wayne Co., Mich.	$1,090.00	$1,200.00
Los Angeles, Calif.	475.04	710.57
St. Louis, Mo.	409.60	437.56
Cook Co., Ill.	339.67	575.00
Minneapolis & St. Paul, Minn.	331.00	303.85
Cleveland, O.	266.21	414.71
Bridgeport, Conn.	225.00	430.00
Allegheny Co., Pa.	213.50	150.00
Kings Co., N.Y.	161.26	288.17
South Norwalk, Conn.	150.00	302.00
Oakland, Calif.	86.75	271.51
Alborn, Minn.	10.00	25.00
Hampden Co., Mass.		50.50
Erie Co., N.Y.		10.00
	$3,758.03	$5,168.87

As will be noted, there was in 1947 a decrease in total contributions of approximately $1,400, as compared with 1946. Again it must be stated that far too few Sections avail themselves of the opportunities for raising funds afforded by the existence of Weekly People Clubs. While unquestionably some Sections are so situated that Weekly People Clubs cannot be organized, it is hard to believe that most of the other Sections have a valid excuse for not organizing Weekly People Clubs. These Clubs serve two important ends, that of increasing the fund-raising capacity of a Section, and the drawing within Party circles of women who otherwise take little or no interest in Party activities. Again we must express the hope that more Sections will realize the possibilities inherent in the Weekly People Club idea, and that they will make determined efforts to organize such clubs.

As has been pointed out before, the primary function of the Weekly People Clubs is to raise funds for the WEEKLY PEOPLE, and not at all for local Section or state purposes. It is, however, quite proper for Weekly People Clubs to cooperate with local and state organizations in arranging affairs for the benefit of the WEEKLY PEOPLE, and in campaign years the Weekly People Clubs are also authorized to raise funds for the National Campaign Fund. Rarely are any other exceptions authorized.

G — On the Ballot in 1947

There were no general election contests in 1947, in contrast to 1946. In the last-mentioned year the Party participated in elections in fifteen states, with generally satisfactory results. The highest vote cast for the S.L.P. in the combined states was nearly 76,000.

In 1947 there were two contests in which the S.L.P. participated, in the

states of Washington and New Jersey. In Grays Harbor our alert Section there entered the special election (to fill a vacancy) which took place on June 7, 1947, in the 3rd U. S. Congressional District. The campaign, which lasted three weeks, assumed national importance and was bitterly contested by the two major party candidates. Harry L. Morton, S.L.P. nominee, was the third candidate, and received 244 votes. Section Grays Harbor distributed 7,000 leaflets during this local campaign, and the Party received considerable publicity in the press.

Section Passaic County, N.J., participated in the local election for Assemblymen. Four candidates were on the ticket, the highest vote received being 900.

S.L.P. MOVEMENT ABROAD

(a) Great Britain and Australia

There are still no signs of S.L.P. progress in Australia. Despite efforts made by the National Office in 1945, and repeatedly since, to reestablish contacts and resume correspondence with the few known S.L.P. men in Australia, little has come of such efforts. This is the more difficult to understand considering that it is now possible through air-mail service to exchange correspondence and views promptly and at regular intervals. Yet, the field for S.L.P. propaganda in Australia is surely as good as in the other English-speaking countries. Sooner or later the ice must again be broken, and it is hoped that the time is not far off when the once flourishing S.L.P. movement on that Southern continent is reconstituted on a sound and solid basis. Treason and knavery have played their part in disrupting the Australian S.L.P., which once published an excellent weekly (the Sydney *People*), and sold and circulated thousands of copies of sound S.L.P. pamphlets, native products as well as the pamphlets by De Leon. The two world wars were, of course, major factors in reducing the movement to practical non-existence. Then also Australia has been plagued with the same type of "Labor" government as that which now masquerades as "Socialism" in Great Britain, and this circumstance has, of course, had an important bearing on the development (or lack of it) of a sound Marxist movement in that vast land under the Southern Cross, despite the fact that increasing numbers of Australian workers are becoming disillusioned with the phoney "Labor" government and the time-serving labor fakers and Social-Democratic politicians.

In Great Britain, too, there has been little or no progress to report. A group of disrupters (as reported to the N.E.C. Session in 1947) there succeeded in hamstringing the efforts made to build up the Party, and with the limited resources available to our British S.L.P. comrades, the struggle has been of a nature to daunt the sturdiest fighters. Our veteran comrade, L. Cotton, and his faithful comrade-in-arms, Wm. Ironside, have struggled heroically against the overwhelming odds. Apparently the situation and events in Great Britain are approaching a crisis, according to a letter just received from Comrade Cotton — or rather, copy of a letter written by him

to the N.E.C. of the British Party. In this letter it is made clear that "unless money is forthcoming very quickly we shall be compelled to cease publication of the *Socialist* with the May issue." The cost of printing the paper is greater now than it was when the 8-page issue was published before the war. "A large part of our Press Fund receipts," the letter continues, "used to come from America and Canada. It was these that enabled us to hold our own during the war years. For many reasons [the letter continues] these donations are now much less than they were, and it is not to be expected that the paper should depend upon donations from overseas entirely."

Comrade Cotton concludes his letter to the British N.E.C. as follows: "In a few days we shall send you further details of the position. Meantime, you should consider what steps can be taken to avert disaster."

In a note appended to this letter Comrade Cotton (saying that "the above explains itself," and that "another day" he will write further), adds that he is "weary [and] sick at heart . . ." As who would not be who, after a lifetime struggle and valiant efforts, finds his endeavors set at nought, the fruits of his labors dissipated, and personal sacrifices unrewarded. And Comrade Cotton has now passed the three-score-ten.

There is supreme tragedy in this situation. Comrade Cotton is a billiant Marxist — one of the foremost in Europe — a tireless research worker, a student and a scholar. He has deserved far better support than that given him by the British workers, who some day will undoubtedly accord recognition to the unselfish work he has done in behalf of their class interests. Honorable defeat in battle with the overt enemy may be borne, but frustration resulting from inertness and indifference is bitterness itself. If this situation were merely the result of a temporary crisis, help might be sped. In the present circumstance there seems little or nothing that can be done from this side.

(b) Canada

Our Canadian comrades also report increasing difficulties in the struggle to maintain and promote the interests and program of the S.L.P. The recent report of the National Secretary, Comrade Paul Debragh, to the 15th National Convention of the Canadian Party, furnishes ample evidence on this head. On the financial side the report notes that the income suffered a decline of more than $1,400, of which amount $125 was a decline in the *Socialist Press* income. As the report puts it:

"The present low level of income from this one source [*Socialist Press*] is dangerous; concerted action is needed to reverse the trend and start the membership toward regaining and surpassing the records of its better years."

There are four Sections in Canada (Montreal, Ottawa, Vancouver and York County) and members-at-large throughout the country. Section Hamilton was disbanded in 1946. The membership in 1947 shows a total of nine less than the previous year. Two members of some years' standing are reported as having deserted the Party's standards, one Joseph Skelton (one-time organizer of Section London, Ont.), whose "Party career [we are told] was

noted for his timidity and concern about his job"; and one George Thomson, one-time member of the Canadian Sub-Committee, who once "was regarded as a man of promise [but] later he developed into a man of promises, mostly broken ones."

Our Canadian movement was not without disruptive difficulties, unrelated, it should be added, to the disruptive assault on the American S.L.P. One W. Ordynas manifested his unfitness by insisting on peddling a petty bourgeois Ukrainian paper, and, remaining adamant, he should have been expelled, as he would have been under our American S.L.P. constitution. However, he was dropped from the membership rolls, but subsequently placed in the category of expelled disrupter, to be dealt with accordingly hereafter.

Our Canadian comrades are prolific letter-writers to the press. They appear to miss few opportunities for presenting the S.L.P. program to the readers of the capitalist newspapers.

A number of public meetings (indoors as well as outdoors) were held throughout the year. On the whole these seemed to have been successful and effective. Special mention is made of such successful meetings in Windsor (across the river from Detroit) where excellent methods were employed in preparation for meetings, which were addressed also by S.L.P. speakers from Detroit. Section Wayne Co., Mich., has in other respects assisted in connection with activities in Windsor. The excellent work done in Windsor by the S.L.P. was no doubt in large measure responsible for recent vicious attacks on the S.L.P., and the attempt made to break up one of the meetings by organized hoodlums. A particularly vicious capitalist sheet, the Windsor *Star*, has openly incited to violence, the editors of the sheet having no doubt studied the technique of their journalistic brethren across the border. The official U.S. Stalinist sheet reports similar hoodlumism, charging also the Windsor *Star* with responsibility for these mob acts, which appear to have included the smashing up of the Stalinist headquarters in Windsor, and the beating of some of the leading Stalinists. The police, as usual in such cases these days, appear to see nothing, hear nothing, and know nothing — at any rate, they are doing nothing to bring the gangsters to book!

Reprehensible as such hoodlumism is, it is not easy to work up sympathy for the Stalinists, since these are the familiar tactics employed by the Stalinist hoodlums themselves, wherever they have a chance to employ them. During the war, for instance, Stalinist hoodlums everywhere openly incited to violence against those who opposed the "just war," or those who failed to show proper respect and "patriotism" when the names of Franklin Roosevelt and Joseph Stalin were joined in holy praise of the war for "democracy." If the question of Stalinism and Stalinists alone were at stake, it could be justly said that they are merely reaping the whirlwind. But the question is of greater importance than the fate of the Stalinist robots. It is a question of fundamental civil rights and civilized standards, rights and standards hard pressed by the fascist and reactionary clerical and plutocratic elements the world over, not omitting the Stalinists themselves where they hold power. It is a question concerning civilized counter-action to combat anarchistic tend-

encies and acts in a world more and more ruled and officered by official anarchism. And here the S.L.P. will be required to take its stand, as in the past, on the side of decency and civilized conduct, no matter who may be performing as gangsters and hoodlums, and no matter who their victims may be.

The Canadian S.L.P. also engages in contact work and leaflet distribution, with good results. An indication of the extent to which contact work is carried on may be had from the report of Section York County's (Toronto) contact committee. This report, covering the year 1947, gives this information:

"Contacts received, 23; contacts interviewed, 33; contacts removed, 23; persons mailed literature, 735; literature sold, $19.85; literature mailed out, 1,714 pieces . . ." Etc.

The report to the Canadian convention reveals that the distribution of leaflets in 1947 exceeded that of 1946.

The Canadian comrades are hampered by lack of manpower, with particular reference to the National Office of the Party. Comrade Debragh, the National Secretary, carries a triple responsibility: secretarial, editorial and managerial — the latter with particular reference to his work in the printing plant. On this head he states in his report:

"The print shop has absorbed a great deal of my time and, in my judgment, at the expense of equally, if not more, important work, and at the cost of its being detrimental to my normal duties. In September matters came to such a state that I was operating the printing press alone and unaided."

Another serious problem now facing our Canadian comrades is the finding of suitable headquarters. Notice has been served on them to vacate the premises now occupied by May 15. At the present writing, the problem is still unsolved.

All in all, it would appear that our Canadian comrades share with their American comrades the same relative successes, reverses and problems. But there is not the slightest indication that our comrades to the north have any thought of relaxing, let alone of giving up. Far from it. The spirit and purpose of De Leonism are abroad in the land, and unless all signs fail they will want neither nourishment nor tireless servants.

In conclusion it might be stated that an invitation has been extended to the Canadian S.L.P. to send a fraternal delegate to this convention. Though an imaginary line separates us, we are one in spirit, purpose and fraternal fellowship. No geographic line can sunder the bonds that unite us, nor can enemy propaganda, whether that of the overt enemy or that of its allies, the expelled disrupters and conspirators, strain those bonds in the slightest degree.

PARTY PRESS AND LITERATURE

WEEKLY PEOPLE Sales

WEEKLY PEOPLE sales for 1947 (with comparative figures for the preceding four years) were as follows (cents omitted):

1947, $13,203; 1946, $14,213; 1945, $15,633; 1944, $13,343; 1943, $11,470.

The sales for 1947 were about $1,000 less than for 1946. There has been an appreciable decrease in subscriptions. The sales for the comparable year (disregarding the war situation) were $1,733 less than for 1943.

The average weekly printing of the WEEKLY PEOPLE for 1947 was 8,021, compared with 8,578 weekly in 1946. Special May Day and Labor Day issues were published in quantities of 18,000 of each.

During the first three months of 1948, WEEKLY PEOPLE sales (with comparative figures for the corresponding periods of the preceding five years) were as follows:

1948, $2,939; 1947, $4,157; 1946, $3,756; 1945, $4,315; 1944, $3,053; 1943, $2,604.

The decrease in the first quarter of 1948 is partly explained by the fact that a year ago a sub drive was in progress (terminating May 1, 1947), whereas none has been conducted thus far in 1948. Nevertheless, the drop in sales and circulation is serious enough to cause us grave concern. Yet, in appearance and general typographic make-up the WEEKLY PEOPLE is unquestionably more attractive than in former years, not to mention contents. There are (or were until recently) far more cartoons and illustrations printed than before, especially during the months when Comrade Milton Herder was employed in the editorial office. During that period one, and sometimes more cartoons appeared weekly. However, the slump in sales must, in part, be considered part of the general decline in over-all Party results during the past year or so. Hardly any need of suggesting the remedy. It is simple: *Get Subs!* The membership will simply have to buckle down to work.

The WEEKLY PEOPLE circulates in 44 states of the Union, and in the District of Columbia. The four "benighted" states are: Louisiana, Mississippi, North Dakota and South Carolina. In some of the states (notably the southern states) there are only one or two subscribers.

We also have subscribers in Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico and the Canal Zone. Two are handled through the Army P.O. at San Francisco. The WEEKLY PEOPLE also circulates throughout Canada, and in the following foreign countries: Great Britain, Australia, Mexico, Norway, Sweden, Italy, Germany, South Africa, Denmark, Bulgaria, Belgium and Nigeria, B.W.A.

Some of these subscribers abroad (apart from the British and Australian readers) are veteran S.L.P. men, particularly in Denmark, Sweden and Belgium. The others are unknown to us, except the subscriber in Nigeria, who has written several letters to us. Apparently this last mentioned individual has passed copies of the WEEKLY PEOPLE along to some of his "landsmen," judging by one or two quaint letters that have been received from Lagos, B.W.A., lately. One of these, addressed to the WEEKLY PEOPLE, arouses some doubt as to whether the writer is as naive as might be supposed, or whether he is a victim of cupidity who thinks S.L.P. members qualify for what commonly is called "sucker lists." Whatever may have been the notions in the head of the writer of this letter, it is distinctly humorous, though in

any case it is revealing of the general low condition to which capitalism has reduced the civilized, and the perhaps not so civilized, world. But even if considered simply as unconscious humor, it may serve a minor useful purpose to reproduce it here, by way of brightening a bit these somewhat dull pages. The letter follows:

"It is a great pleasure to write you these few lines. I saw your name and address in the newspaper and I hope you are a good publisher in New York, U.S.A.

"Editor, kindly allow me space in your newspaper to publish this, my urgent advertisement, because I want to correspond with the citizens of your country.

"(African prince and princess appeals for Pen-Pal.) We are an African Royal family prince and princess, we have bright eyes, black hair and fair complexion. Our city is Lagos, capital of Nigeria. My hobbies are collecting American Dollars, Coins, Sportshirts, Cameras, Soaps, Towels, Scarfs, purses, handbags, magazines, Ladies Belts, Ladies Shoes, necklaces, and mint and used stamps. I would like to exchange products with any body.

"If you can send me some of the articles that we mentioned, I will send you handbags of Tiger Skin, Slippers and Sandals made of Snake Skin, Belts made of Cobra Skin, Ivorys, Ebony Carvings, native Swords, native Clothes, and Jewelerys etc. Let your letters fly to me by airmail or shipmail. We would like to hear from men, women, boys and girls of all ages.

"Thanks, Sir.

"Prince M. Agbosasa.

"Princess S. Agbosasa."

As a collector of American dollars, His African Royal Highness is by no means unique! Nor is he alone as a mendicant among the fraternity of royal bums. The world is full of them, and undoubtedly their tribe will increase in the years to come . The king business is not what it used to be!

Meanwhile, the cost of newsprint paper has risen steadily, as have other materials. The price of linotype metal, for instance, has practically doubled during the last five years.

Labor News Sales

Labor News sales (with comparative figures for the four preceding years) were as follows (cents omitted):

1947, $9,905; 1946, $10,149; 1945, $9,555; 1944, $7,147; 1943, $8,953.

This is a decrease of $244, as compared with 1946. Not an alarming decrease, but still certainly not satisfactory.

The sales for the first quarter of 1948 amounted to $2,137, as compared with $2,157 for the same period a year ago — that is, practically the same. The figures for the corresponding periods in the preceding four years were as follows:

1946, $2,240; 1945, $2,473; 1944, $1,674; 1943, $1,773.

During the year of 1947 the following pamphlets were printed or reprinted:

Ballot and the Class Struggle, De Leon, 48, 2,000; Burning Question of Trades Unionism, De Leon, 48, 3,000; Burning Question of Trades Unionism, Spanish, De Leon (Tr. by M. H. Dickson), 48, 2,000, 1st Ed.; Capitalism Means War, De Leon, 32, 3,000, 2nd Ed.; Capitalism vs. Socialism, De Leon, 48, 2,000, 5th Ed.; Communist Manifesto, Marx-Engels, 80, 1,000; Crises in European History, Bang (Tr. by A. Petersen), 64, 2,000, 10th Ed.; From Reform to Bayonets, Petersen, 32, 2,000, 3rd Ed.; Karl Marx, the Man, Lafargue, 48, 3,000, 1st Ed.; Paris Commune, Marx, 160, 500; Reform or Revolution, De Leon (New Introduction by Petersen), 48, 5,000; Socialism: Hope of Humanity, Declaration (New Introduction by Petersen), 16, 2,000, 4th Ed.; Socialist Freedom or Capitalist Serfdom, Spanish, Manifesto, 32, 2,000, 2nd Ed.; Socialist Reconstruction of Society, De Leon, 64, 5,000; Socialist Reconstruction of Society, Spanish, De Leon (Tr. by M. H. Dickson), 64, 2,000, 1st Ed.; Value, Price and Profit, Marx, 96, 2,000; What Is Socialism? 48, 5,000, 9th Ed.; What Means This Strike? De Leon, 48, 5,000.

In all, a total of 48,500 pamphlets ranging in bulk from 16 to 160 pages.

During the first quarter of 1948 the following pamphlets were printed or reprinted:

Communist Manifesto (Centennial Ed.), Marx-Engels, 128, 500 Cloth, 2,500 paper, 1st Ed.; Democracy: Past, Present and Future, Petersen, 80, 2,000, 5th Ed.; Socialism: From Utopia to Science, Engels, 80, 3,000, 1st Ed.; War—Why? (New title, new Introduction), Petersen, 48, 3,000, 4th Ed.

Of the above pamphlets, the following were new:

"Burning Question of Trades Unionism," translated into Spanish by Margaret H. Dickson; "Socialist Reconstruction of Society," translated into Spanish by Margaret H. Dickson; "Karl Marx, the Man," by Paul Lafargue.

The following were enlarged editions of old titles, with new introductions, etc.:

"Reform or Revolution"; "Socialism: Hope of Humanity"; "Communist Manifesto," Centennial Edition; "Socialism: From Utopia to Science"; "War—Why?"

A new edition of "Stalinist Imperialism," by Eric Hass, with changes, corrections and a new introduction, is scheduled for early publication.

A new printing of De Leon's "Ultramontanism," is about ready to be sent to the binders. It has been reset and given a new title: "The Vatican in Politics — Ultramontanism, The Roman Catholic Political Machine in Action." The main reason for changing the title was the belief that few people seem to understand what is meant by "Ultramontanism." The ignorance of a Stalinist may not be a criterion in this respect, but it nevertheless is amusing to recall that the female Stalinist, erstwhile Bummery-I.W.W.-ite, Elizabeth Gurly Flynn, (when referring to De Leon and James Connolly) once learnedly remarked that Ultramontanism was "an ascetic Christian sect of the 2nd century." (*The Sunday Worker*, Apr. 17, 1938.)

At any rate, it is believed that the generally better-understood designa-

tion, "Vatican in Politics," will attract more purchasers than did the old title.

The following new titles are scheduled for early publication:

"Fascism Is Still a Menace," by Eric Hass; "What is Socialist Industrial Unionism?" (Questions and Answers).

On the list for publication at the earliest opportunity are: "The Socialist Labor Party and the Internationals," by Eric Hass; "Race Prejudice: Its Cause and Cure."

The old pamphlet "Burlesque Bolshevism" is scheduled for eventual republication in a revised edition under a new title, some of the old material to be eliminated, and new matter to be added. On this list (under old "Unfinished Business") are also the four primary De Leon pamphlets to be worked into one pamphlet or book. To replace the "John L. Lewis Exposed" pamphlet, Comrade Hass has been requested to prepare a new pamphlet on the genus Labor Faker, to be composed of De Leon editorials, with introduction, suitable footnotes and comments.

The following pamphlets are to be reissued with footnotes bringing them up to date, etc.:

"Soviet Russia: Promise or Menace?" "Revolutionary Milestones."

The following titles have been discontinued as no longer serving a useful purpose — this by order of the N.E.C. Sub-Committee:

"Cooperative Movement," "Factory Work," "Trial of Ferrer," "Virus of Anarchy," "Superstition: Father of Slavery."

The last mentioned is now included in "Theocracy or Democracy." Its continued separate publication as a pamphlet is not necessary.

As explained by the National Secretary in recent reports to the N.E.C., publication efforts are greatly hampered by the lack of a competent pressman. For some time to come the situation in this regard is not likely to improve — rather the contrary. We hope, however, that we are on the way to a solution of the problem.

Leaflets

A list of the leaflets printed by or for the National Office follows:

Anti-Semitism: Cause and Cure, Sm. 4 pp., 35,000; Atomic Power: Promise or Menace, Sm. 4 pp., 195,000; Democracy of Socialism, Sm. 4 pp., 105,000; Democracy vs. Dictatorship in Industry, Sm. 4 pp., 70,000; Do We Have a Democracy? Sm. 4 pp., 105,000 (New); Greatest Robbery in History, Lge. 4 pp., 105,000; "Inflation" and Wages, Sm. 4 pp., 220,000; Poverty Can Be Abolished, Sm. 4 pp., 15,000; Push-Button War on Push-Button World? Lge. 4 pp., 630,000 (New); Race Problem, Lge. 2 pp., 9,200; S.L.P. Marxism vs. "Leftist" Reformism, Sm. 4 pp., 35,000; Socialism: Champion of Civilized Principles, Sm. 4 pp., 35,000; Socialism vs. Govt. Ownership, Sm. 4 pp., 70,000; Socialist Industrial Unionism, Lge. 4 pp., 105,000; Stop Peacetime Conscription, Sm. 4 pp., 35,000, 280,000 (New); Strikes and the "Public," Sm. 4 pp., 315,000 (New); Union "Jack" Built, Lge. 44 pp., 35,000; What Means This Strike? Sm. 4 pp., 255,000; What

Socialism Means, Sm. 4 pp., 210,000; Democracy vs. Dictatorship in Industry, Spanish, Sm. 4 pp., 7,500 (New); Socialism: Champion of Civilized Principles, Spanish, Sm. 4 pp., 7,500 (New); Total, 2,879,200.

Of this total 2,879,200, only a fraction was printed in the Party's printing plant, viz., 289,200. 2,270,000 were printed in two New York printing plants, and 320,000 at a Cleveland printing plant.

Included among the above titles are six new leaflets, namely, the illustrated cartoon leaflets "Do We Have a Democracy?" "Push-Button War or Push-Button World," and "Strikes and the 'Public.'" The other three titles are "Stop Peacetime Conscription," and two translated into Spanish by Margaret H. Dickson, "Democracy vs. Dictatorship in Industry," and "Socialism: Champion of Civilized Principles."

Section Los Angeles (with the aid of the California S.E.C.) sponsored the printing of 535,000 leaflets, plus 106,000 advertising flyers. The California S.E.C. sponsored the printing of 105,000 leaflets. The titles were as follows:

By Section Los Angeles:

Atomic Energy, 40,000; Do We Have a Democracy? 85,000; Push-Button War or Push-Button World (financed by the California S.E.C.), 190,000; Socialism's Answer to Unemployment, 50,000; Stop Peacetime Military Conscription, 60,000; Strikes and the "Public," 110,000.

By the California S.E.C.:

What Mean These Strikes, 105,000.

During the first quarter of 1948 we had printed (by an outside New York concern) 34,000 "Socialist Industrial Union" and 68,000 "Stop Peacetime Conscription" leaflets, a total of 102,000. Summary of leaflets printed, and on hand, follows:

On hand January 1, 1947, 342,900. Printed in 1947, 2,879,200. Total: 3,222,100. On hand December 31, 1947, 881,650. Shipped during 1947, 2,340,450.

On hand January 1, 1948, 881,650. Printed 1st quarter 1948, 102,000. Total: 983,650. On hand March 31, 1948, 221,500. Shipped (or ordered) 1st quarter 1948, 762,150.

Since leaflets with special campaign imprints have to be printed in large quantities, and having considerable quantities of regular leaflets on hand which it was not desirable to keep on our shelves for the greater part of a year, the National Office offered these leaflets free to the Subdivisions for current distribution (excepting one or two titles), expressage, however, to be paid by the Subdivisions. In this way more than 750,000 leaflets were ordered and shipped during the first quarter of 1948.

As already mentioned, the help problem at the National Office remains as acute as described in last year's report to the N.E.C. As stated before, we are hoping to be on the way to the solving of the problem in the printing plant, and as soon as we have done so, some of the new, much-needed printing equipment will be secured—subject to whim of (and delay by) the manufacturers. The office-help problem remains substantially unchanged. We

have found it practically impossible to secure stenographers and bookkeepers. Those engaged as bookkeepers did not remain, getting married constituting the main reason. Again Comrade Ruth Orange stepped into the breach, agreeing to help out until some time after the National Convention, when again we must start the hunt for a competent bookkeeper. We advertised repeatedly for a stenographer, and also applied to agencies, but thus far without success. To one advertisement in the New York *Times* we received no replies at all; the second advertisement brought two responses, one remaining for a trial, then left on the excuse of going out to lunch, but never returning. The second one never showed up. The New York State Unemployment agency sent us one girl, allegedly a college graduate. She proved to be impossible. A second application brought the promise of sending another girl, but she never materialized. Because of the pressure of convention preparations (during which period a new girl would be more of a hindrance than a help), efforts were temporarily abandoned, but the "hunt" must be resumed immediately after the convention.

The two main reasons for our inability to secure help appear to be, first, that we are a Socialist organization, and, second, that we must work on a full week schedule. And few, if any, girls want to work 5½ days. Obviously it would be unfair, and in the long run it would create an impossible situation, to expect some National Office employees to work 5½ days, while others worked only 5 days. Indeed, in some instances prospective employees, to whom in desperation we were willing to grant the five-day week, bluntly declared that they did not wish to work in a place where they would work 5 days, while others had to work 5½ days. And thus the problem remains — a problem well-nigh without present proper solution.

PARTY FINANCES AND FUNDS

The books, accounts and inventories of National Headquarters have been audited as usual, and certified to be correct and in good order. The Financial Statement and Balance Sheet, and the National Office Financial report, for 1947 have been reviewed by the Party's auditor, Comrade L. Zimmerman, and will be printed and supplied to the membership in accordance with the standing practice. Reports for the past four years are available for the inspection of the National Convention. Herewith are submitted the usual summaries and tables of contributions received during the past year, with comparative figures, etc.

January 1, 1947 - *Dec.* 31, 1947

(A) PRESS FUNDS

		1947	1946
Press Security Fund		$10,428.50	$13,157.46
Bazaar Fund		16,781.40	17,883.72
Bal. 1946 Bazaar	$1,044.93		
1947 Bazaar (12/31/47)	15,736.47		

Bal. 1945 Bazaar	$ 949.92	
1946 Bazaar (12/31/46)	16,933.80	
Christmas Box	7,125.44	8,610.91
	$34,335.34	$39,652.09

[Comparative collections at Federation Convention Banquets:

	1947	1946
Bulgarian (Christmas Box)	$ 5,290.30	$ 5,228.95
Hungarian (Press Security Fund)	1,000.00	900.00
South Slavonian (Press Sec. Fund)	5,014.11	5,505.40
	$11,304.41	$11,634.35]

(B) OTHER FUNDS

	1947	1946
National Campaign Fund 1948	$ 5,727.24	
National Campaign Fund "Voluntary" Assess.	2,462.00	
New Machinery Fund	850.83	$ 1,211.79
New Machinery Fund "Voluntary" Assessment	2,718.80	5,270.50
National Organizer Fund	6,054.97	2,950.75
Radio Broadcasting Fund	744.29	1,754.20
De Leon Editorial Publication Fund	629.67	1,028.87
Political Rights Defense Fund	51.10	97.73
	$19,238.90	$12,313.84

Summary

Total Press Funds	$34,335.34	$39,652.09
Total Other Funds	19,238.90	12,313.84
	$53,574.24	$51,965.93

(C) FUNDS Jan. 1, 1948 - March 31, 1948

PRESS FUNDS:	*1st Quarter* '48	*1st Quarter* '47
Press Security Fund	$ 522.50	$ 1,201.99
Bazaar Fund	973.95	883.60
Christmas Box	5,818.13	5,671.42
	$ 7,314.58	$ 7,757.01

OTHER FUNDS:		
National Campaign Fund 1948	$ 9,979.41	
National Campaign Fund "Voluntary" Assess.	2,213.00	
National Organizer Fund	124.54	$ 804.25
Radio Broadcasting Fund	55.94	367.05
De Leon Editorial Publication Fund	414.28	331.69
New Machinery Fund and "Vol." Assess.	72.50	1,173.77
Political Rights Defense Fund		12.35
	$12,859.67	$ 2,689.11

Summary (First Quarter)

Total Press Funds	$ 7,314.58	$ 7,757.01
Total Other Funds	12,859.67	2,689.11
	$20,174.25	$10,446.12

The total receipts for the year for all funds amounted to approximately $53,725, as against $51,966 for 1946. There was a net increase, accordingly, of approximately $1,600, as compared with 1946. The Press Funds dropped approximately $5,300, which means that in two years these receipts have dropped approximately $8,500. The net increase in National Office receipts amounted to approximately $6,900. This amount, however, is more than accounted for by the contributions made to the National Campaign Fund. Disregarding National Campaign Fund contributions, there was a drop in regular National Office funds receipts of approximately $1,200.

As compared with 1946, contributions to the Press Security Fund decreased by approximately $2,700; for the Weekly People Thanksgiving Bazaar Fund the decrease was approximately $1,100; for the Christmas Box the decrease was approximately $1,500. Similarly compared, there was an increase in contributions to the National Organizer Fund amounting to $3,104.22; a decrease of approximately $1,000 for the Radio Broadcasting Fund; a decrease in the De Leon Editorial Publication Fund of approximately $400; and a decrease of approximately $50 for the Political Rights Defense Fund.

As shown, the receipts for the Weekly People Thanksgiving Bazaar Fund decreased by approximately $1,100. At the New York (Eastern Interstate Thanksgiving) Bazaar we realized approximately $1,000 less than at the 1946 Bazaar. Both years register a substantial decrease from the high-water mark of 1945 when we cleared the net proceeds of approximately $21,200. The leading centers of contributions were New York Eastern Interstate, with $4,750; Wayne County (Detroit) with $2,500; Bay Area with $2,100; and Ohio State with $1,875. The rest ranged from $900 to $37. The decline in the total receipts is disturbing, especially considering the general improvement in the programs offered. That, at any rate, is the case with the New

York Eastern Interstate affair. Here one is almost tempted to say that the better the program, the poorer the financial results! There is, of course, no necessary connection here. The cause, as in other respects, must be sought in the increasing economic hardships suffered by the working class, which necessarily results in a tightening of the purse strings. It is devoutly to be wished that there will be a material improvement hereafter, especially at this year's bazaars, held in the auspicious Marxist centennial year.

The total receipts for all funds in the first quarter of 1948 amounted to approximately $20,200, as against approximately $10,500 for the same period a year ago. The increase is, of course, largely accounted for by the contributions to the National Campaign Fund.

The financial report of the National Office proper shows a total of $26,849.15 in receipts (for the year 1947), and total expenditures of $21,-142.77. The excess in receipts is, again, due to the contributions received for the National Campaign Fund. The over-all deficit in National Office transactions was $3,620, which, as usual, was deducted from the Estates Fund. At its regular session held in May, 1947, the National Executive Committee authorized the transfer of $6,000 from the Estates Fund to the National Organizer Fund, and $4,000 from the N.E.C. Session Expenses Assessment Fund also to the National Organizer Fund. This was necessary if the National Office were to be enabled to tour national organizers.

Again it becomes necessary to emphasize the importance of giving generous financial support to the Party treasury. Expenses are steadily mounting, the latest formidable increase being in our rent, which has been practically doubled as of May 1, 1948. We must look for harder, not easier times, and we must soberly appraise the situation, and be prepared to act accordingly. Being always "in hot water," to use De Leon's phrase, is part of the penalty we pay for being an uncompromising Marxist organization. With the "sweet" of "No compromise," we must as yet take the "bitter" of "No support," except from our own membership and close sympathizers. And that means "digging, and digging, and digging again." It cannot be otherwise at this stage.

During the year we paid out in taxes to Federal and State governments the total amount of $7,570.40. Of this amount employees "contributed" $5,965.43. The total is approximately $250 less than for the preceding year.

ESTATES

(A) The Hanson Estate

The Hanson Estate is due for an early settlement — barring new and unforeseen obstacles. Of such there have been many during the many years it has plagued us, so one cannot be too sure. It will be recalled that the N.E.C. last May authorized the additional expenditure of $500, to file an appeal in the matter. When it came time for action our California attorney, Mr. E. Rowe, had grown "cold" to the idea of appealing. In a letter to Comrade Michel he explained why he did not care to go through with the case, and

why the Party should accept the compromise settlement previously offered and discussed at the last N.E.C. session. The Party was confronted with the alternatives of concurring in Mr. Rowe's suggestion, or having him withdraw from the case and engaging another lawyer, and then starting the melancholy business all over again. Comrade Michel felt, and, after considering the alternatives, the N.E.C. Sub-Committee and the National Secretary agreed, that acceptance of the proposed compromise constituted the lesser of two evils, a judgment concurred in by the N.E.C. when the matter was submitted to it by mail on August 4, 1947, for approval. Accordingly, on March 13, 1948, the necessary papers were signed and forwarded to Mr. Rowe. Nothing further has been heard about the matter to date, but presumably the case is treading its weary way to the expected conclusion. However, the signature of one of the Norwegian heirs had to be secured, which, of course, would explain further delay at this time.

The hoary antiquity of this case, with its endless legalistic twists and angles, illustrates to perfection the private-property character of capitalism, and the "private furies" brought into play when propertied interests are at stake. The simple, highly relevant fact that a devoted sympathizer and former member wanted to leave his money to the S.L.P. for the promotion of the cause in which he so ardently believed, had, like "the flowers that bloom in the spring," nothing to do with the case! The irrelevant fact that distant relatives wanted the money expressly denied them by their kin, the irrelevant fact that executors and courts, etc., claimed their share, the irrelevant fact that lawyers must live (or must they?) — all these irrelevancies had *everything* to do with the case, and these "facts" determined its outcome!

That this case ended with the same pleas, circumstances and legalistic considerations with which it began, is brought to mind by reviewing the bulky correspondence that accumulated during the dozen years or so. Thus, a letter written to Comrade Michel in March, 1939, bears such testimony. In that letter the National Secretary wrote:

"Comrade Zimmerman and I have now gone over the various matters which you sent with your letter on February 7 [1939], relating to the Hanson Estate. To us it tells a melancholy tale — the tale of a $27,000 gross estate, and estimated $17,500 net estate, having shrunk to what threatens to become a total net proceeds of only a couple of thousand dollars . . ."

And after tabulating the alleged "shrinkages" in the estate, the claims paid to sundry claimants (including $1,800 to the next of kin in Norway — this on advice of the lawyer in the expectation of "appeasing" them temporarily) — after dealing with these details, the National Secretary commented in his letter to Comrade Michel:

"Hans Christian Andersen once told a story about one feather which, through an extraordinary set of circumstances, finally turned out to be five hens. By the time *we* get through with this business, I think I can tell a story, which is anything but a fairy tale, about one estate of $27,000.00 which, through another set of fantastic circumstances, in the end turned out to be scarcely more than one-half of five 'grand.' "

The National Secretary, unfortunately, proved a better prophet than he had then hoped he would be. For, under the proposed settlement it is doubtful that our share will exceed $3,000.

Thus the end. Since the beginning of this case empires and dictators have come and gone; half the world has gone up in flames or been reduced to rubble; heirs-at-law have died in distant lands; one of the two lawyers engaged to handle the case died — all this, but the Hanson Estate case plodded its weary, tortuous course, unaffected by mundane affairs beyond the confines fixed by legalistic devices and the prevailing property-madness!

(B) Other Bequests

In last year's report to the N.E.C., reference was made to a bequest to the Party by our late Comrade Jacob Grossman, concerning which it was stated that the Party would receive $6,500, "barring complications." Well, there *were* complications — in fact, it may be said that the estate, or rather the Party's expected share in it, died of complications! Once again we were confronted with a situation where a member, wishing to remember the S.L.P. in his will, did so without consulting the Party, and, as generally happens, signed a will that was defective as far as the Party's interests were concerned. The lawyer who drafted the will was supposed to be a close personal friend of our late comrade (indeed, he and his family were remembered in Comrade Grossman's will), but notwithstanding the fact that he knew of Comrade Grossman's S.L.P. membership, and of his deep devotion to the Party, he made the will in such a way that the Party was declared legally disqualified to receive the bequest. It must be assumed that the lawyer was ignorant of the law and its implications as regards the bequeathing of property to a body such as the S.L.P., under the terms of a will, in accordance with testators' wishes. At least this is the polite assumption and, in a public document such as this report, the only recordable explanation possible.

An Ohio sympathizer, Mike Radovich, who died in 1946, left one-half of his estate to the Party. The total amount was estimated at about $6,000. The will was contested by the guardian of Mike Radovich's son, who then was a minor. To avoid prolonged and costly litigation, a compromise was effected under which the Party will receive about $800. Again there was an element of uncertainty because of the phrasing of the will. The matter is expected to be concluded satisfactorily in a month or two.

Our late Comrade S. Moskovitz had informed the National Secretary that he wished to leave his estate to the Party, and wanted to make out his will accordingly. Unfortunately, he was in the hospital at the time, though he did not realize the seriousness of his condition. He insisted that he would attend to the matter next time he went to his bookstore. He never went there again. He died on November 23, 1947, without making out a will. However, an early will was found in which the Party was mentioned as one of several beneficiaries. It is hoped that we shall receive for the Party the share indicated for it in that old will.

Once more, as in the cases of the Andrejovich, the Grossman, and the

Radovich estates, and others, the Party failed to benefit as these loyal departed comrades had intended it should. We can do nothing about these past cases, and indeed there is little, if anything, we can do in future cases. Obviously, we cannot go around and ask members what they intend to do with their wordly goods when the "iron curtain" has dropped, or urge them (as was once seriously proposed by a now-departed comrade) that they should be sure to remember the Party in their wills! It does seem a great pity and a tragedy that the wishes of devoted S.L.P. comrades should be so frustrated merely because precautions were not taken to insure properly made out wills. All that we can do is to record these unhappy and unpleasant facts here, and for the rest let events take their course. And yet, it is not easy to accept philosophically the loss of revenues that otherwise would have come to the Party in a sum totaling $40,000, which, roughly, is the amount that would have been received by the Party under the Hanson, Andrejevich, Radovich and Grossman wills, plus the will the making of which the late Comrade Moskovitz postponed until it was too late.

INTERFERENCES WITH CIVIL RIGHTS, ETC.

As Reported to the National Office
Since the May, 1947, *N.E.C. Session*

The past year produced its average crop of interferences with our civil rights by local czars, and in a few instances by hoodlums, incited by semi-fascist outfits, with the tacit and passive support of the would-be upholders of law and order. A list of the more noteworthy incidents follows:

(A) General

Oakland, California:

At the time of the N.E.C. 1947 session, there was pending the Steiner arrest case. Comrade Herbert Steiner had been arrested on February 14, 1947, while distributing leaflets in Oakland, on the grounds that he had no permit. In the subsequent court actions, this charge was conveniently forgotten, and the prosecuting attorney charged Comrade Steiner with littering the streets, etc. Mr. Clarence Rust, A.C.L.U. attorney in Oakland, defended Comrade Steiner. After a number of delays caused by the prosecuting attorney, who was reluctant to allow a ruling to be made in the matter, and failed to file a brief on half a dozen occasions, the matter was finally disposed of in Police Court with Comrade Steiner found "guilty," ordered to pay a $25 fine, and sentenced to five days in the city jail. An appeal was immediately filed in the Alameda County Superior Court, with the expected result. On June 17, 1947, the court reversed the conviction.

The decision then had to be made as to whether or not suit for false arrest should be brought against the authorities. After careful consideration, and upon the advice of the A.C.L.U. attorney, the California S.E.C. decided not to pursue the matter, and the decision was concurred in by the N.E.C. Sub-Committee.

Since this case was disposed of, there have been a number of petty annoyances and interferences with leaflet distribution on the part of the Oakland police. Finally, in exasperation, the organizer of the Section, Comrade Edward Ward, wrote a letter on February 16, 1948, to the Mayor of Oakland. As a result, we have now been assured that orders have been given to the police not to interfere with our distributors, and that we need expect no more trouble in Oakland. We shall see.

[Since this was written, we have "seen." On April 19, Comrade Ward reported renewed interferences as aforesaid, and this, of all occasions, was when the "Freedom" train arrived! Two comrades, under threat of arrest, were ordered to stop distributing leaflets anywhere near the sacred train! Being in no position to submit to arrest at the time, they had to desist. The matter is once again being taken up with the guardians of freedom, law and order! The S.L.P. is having a rich experience in proving that civil liberties must be fought for and won daily.]

New Britain, Connecticut:

Under date of October 27, 1947, the acting Connecticut State Secretary, Comrade James Hutchin, reported that a sympathizer engaged by the S.E.C. to distribute leaflets had been picked up on October 25 in New Britain, taken to the police station, his leaflets taken from him, and ordered to leave town on penalty of arrest. On learning of the matter, Comrade Hutchin contacted the authorities and attempted to reason with them, to no avail.

It was decided that since it would not be desirable to institute a court action with a non-member representing the Party, and since it was late in the season for leaflet distribution, a possible test case involving a Party member should not be made until the spring. Meantime, the National Office sent a strong protest to the mayor and chief of police, under date of January 28, 1948, denouncing the unconstitutional acts of the police, and informing them that we intend to resume distribution in New Britain as soon as the weather permits, and that we shall be prepared to do everything necessary to protect our rights. To date there have been no replies. Official gangsterism, no more than the common garden variety of gangsterism, does not argue. It tramples laws and civil rights under muddy boots, or crawls when licked. We expect the New Britain variety to crawl eventually.

Peoria, Illinois:

On August 27, 1947, in writing to the National Office with regard to the visit of National Organizer Dallas Reynolds to Peoria, the Section organizer reported that because of local conditions, the Section had decided not to hold outdoor meetings. The reason given was that a local appearance of Paul Robeson had been canceled upon the "insistence of the American Legion," which had induced the city council to ban the affair. The Section felt that the authorities would "condone and encourage certain elements to disrupt or break up" outdoor meetings held by the S.L.P., and that in view of the situation it was not advisable to go through with the meetings. The National Office did not agree, but it was too late then to do anything in the matter.

Zeigler, Illinois:

On June 15, 1947, Comrade Dallas Reynolds was in Zeigler for a radio talk and public meeting (indoor). The radio broadcast went off as scheduled, but our national organizer was informed by a local member that the chief of police had requested a copy of his talk to be delivered at the public meeting. Comrade Reynolds went to see the chief of police, who was out, so he talked instead with the mayor, who advised him not to try to hold the meeting, since to do so would cause "trouble." The mayor said, "we have had trouble with Reds before." The mayor was informed that we intended to go through with the meeting.

The meeting was not held, however. When the scheduled time arrived, only a handful were present, and an "armed mob" waited outside, as well as the mayor, the chief of police and the sheriff. Comrade Reynolds approached the officials and was again advised not to go through with the meeting. In his report of the incident, Comrade Reynolds stated that he felt the mob had been organized by the officials.

Since it appeared that the mob had been given an open invitation to do whatever they wished, and lacking a proper audience, it was decided to call off the meeting and report the matter to the Illinois S.E.C. and the National Office.

In view of the official nature of the interference, and because of the long record of the city officials in violating constitutional rights, it was decided that a protest to the authorities of Zeigler would be useless. Accordingly, the Illinois S.E.C., on July 15, 1947, sent a strong protest to the Civil Rights Section of the Department of Justice, in the hope of obtaining redress, or at least that an official investigation would be made which might lead to preventing such interference in the future. This letter was acknowledged under date of July 31, 1947, and "careful consideration of the complaint" was promised. Nothing more was heard and the S.E.C. sent a letter on October 25, requesting information as to the disposition of the case. To this the Department of Justice replied on November 7, advising that the complaint was "carefully considered," and it being found to "warrant action by the Department... inquiry as to the facts was made at Zeigler." The letter stated, however, that the investigation did not produce sufficient evidence of violation of Federal law to enable "prosecutive action to be undertaken," and that where no violation of Federal law occurs, the Department can do nothing. Where no such violation occurs, the letter continued, "interference must be attacked through the procedures provided by State law or by State Government." Finally, the letter stated, the Department of Justice received "assurances from the local authorities [of Zeigler] of their sincere intention to avoid any possible interference with freedom of assembly."

Since no attempt was made actually to start or hold the meeting, and since the meeting was prevented from being held by intimidation rather than by actual force, however reprehensible the actions of the officials were, there appears to be nothing more that can be done now.

Louisville, Kentucky:

On July 17, 1947, Comrade Reynolds reported that he had been stopped from distributing leaflets by a police captain in Louisville on the ground that he was "blocking traffic and littering the streets." Comrade Reynolds, accompanied by Comrade Gordon Long, went with the captain to the police station to see the chief of police. The chief turned out to be a man with whom Comrade Long had gone to school, which may, or may not, have had any influence on the chief. Comrade Reynolds reported, however, that "things [were] settled very nicely."

Boston, Massachusetts:

Since the report to the N.E.C. in May, 1947, the Boston Common case, begun on July 7, 1946, with the arrest of three of our members who were addressing a public meeting on the Common without a permit, was brought to a successful conclusion. The issues involved were the right to hold "non-religious" meetings on Sundays, and the right to hold meetings without first obtaining permits. By pre-arrangement, the three S.L.P. members were tried by the Superior Court on September 24, 1946 (and found "guilty"), in order to expedite a ruling by the Massachusetts Supreme Court on the constitutionality of the Boston ordinances. This ruling was obtained June 2, 1947. It reversed the Superior Court decision and declared the local ordinances unconstitutional. While others later became involved in the case, it was the S.L.P. which instituted the action, and fought the initial battles. The Party was represented by the A.C.L.U. Boston attorneys.

Newark, New Jersey:

On November 1, 1947, a Party sympathizer was distributing leaflets in Newark. He was stopped by a man in uniform who was identified as a 2nd lieutenant of the U.S. Militia, and who is reported to have said: "I know the cop can't do anything to you, but I can." He then demanded that our sympathizer stop distributing and finally demanded the leaflets, replying to protests by saying, "I don't care anything about Supreme Court rulings." The leaflets were finally handed over to him, there being no policeman in sight, and the Party member who was distributing across the street being unaware of what was happening. The lack of information about the interferer, with no witnesses, etc., and the fact that a non-member was involved, made it impossible to take legal action in the matter.

Vineland, New Jersey:

Comrades Albert Ronis and Jules Levin, members of recently organized Section Cumberland County, were distributing leaflets on January 11, 1948, outside a hall where the Jewish War Veterans were holding a public meeting. A "delegation" of the Veterans asked our comrades to leave so that the people attending the meeting would not "get the idea" that the Jewish War Veterans were backing the S.L.P. Naturally, our comrades declared their intentions of continuing the distribution. About ten minutes later another "delegation" came out and demanded that the distribution be stopped, "or else." The police were sent for (by the J.W.V.) and arrived immediately, asking to see

the permits for distributing leaflets. Upon being told that no permits were needed, and being shown the Supreme Court rulings, the police said: "The rulings don't count," and took the comrades to City Hall. The chief of police was at his home, so Comrade Ronis phoned him and insisted that the interference was unconstitutional; that no local ordinance could require a permit for the exercise of a basic right, etc. He was told to see the city solicitor on the following day. This was done, and investigation revealed that there was no city ordinance requiring a permit to distribute political leaflets. The Section realizes that a copy of the ordinance should have been demanded immediately. In any case, the authorities were informed in no uncertain terms that our comrades intend to exercise their rights without interference. There have been no subsequent interferences reported.

Buffalo, New York:

On June 19, 1947, one of our Section Erie County members was distributing leaflets in Buffalo when he was stopped by a police lieutenant. Our member protested, showing the lieutenant the Supreme Court rulings, but the officer ignored the protests. In a letter of protest addressed to the police commissioner, Comrade E. A. Swiatek, the Section organizer, pointed out that the lieutenant tacitly admitted he recognized the validity of the protest by remarking to a fellow policeman that he "would be pleased to make an arrest even if it only meant that we [the S.L.P.] would be banned from the streets until the case was tried." The letter to the commissioner announced that the S.L.P. intended to continue to distribute leaflets in Buffalo. Comrade Swiatek reports that these annoying and petty interferences occur about once a year.

Brooklyn, New York:

On February 24, 1948, two members of Section Kings County were told by a policeman to stop their distribution on a street corner, and were threatened with arrest if they continued. The policeman refused to listen to the protests of our members, or to read the Supreme Court rulings, insisting that the comrades were responsible for littering the streets, and that he would arrest them if they didn't stop. The policeman's badge number and name were taken, and a formal protest was mailed to the local police precinct. No reply was received, but the Section has resumed distribution on the same corner without interference.

Canton, Ohio:

On October 2, 1947, Section Stark County attempted to hold an outdoor meeting in the Public Square of Canton, with National Organizer Dallas Reynolds as speaker. The meeting was interrupted by two patrolmen, who wanted to know if we had a permit to hold the meeting. They were informed that no permit was necessary, but that a letter had been sent to the county commissioners (the meeting was being held on "county property") notifying them that the meeting would be held. While this conversation was taking place, the clerk of the board of elections brightly advised the patrolmen that our meeting was "interfering with registration." The meeting was then

moved to the other side of the square, but after only a few minutes, the same two patrolmen returned saying they had orders to stop the meeting, and asked our comrades "to cooperate until the matter could be settled." Comrades Reynolds and Albaugh accompanied the patrolmen to the police station, where an examination of the law revealed that the holding of a meeting was forbidden "which delays traffic or interferes with free . . . use of the streets," etc., without "first obtaining a permit."

In a letter of protest, dated October 6, 1947, and addressed to the mayor and the city solicitor, Comrade Albaugh pointed out that the meeting "did not delay traffic, etc.," and that the ordinance in question is unconstitutional, similar ordinances having been so declared by the Supreme Court, and that for the authorities to claim the right to *grant* free speech, implied also the right to *deny* it. Comrade Albaugh further stated that a meeting would be held on October 9. On the day scheduled for the meeting, Comrade Albaugh visited the safety director and was assured that there would be no interference. In a subsequent letter (under date of October 13), Comrade Albaugh reported that the meeting was held without interference.

Steubenville, Ohio:

On May 31, 1947, Comrade Mehmet Burlakis, of Section Steubenville, was detained for one hour by the police of Wheeling, West Virginia, for distributing leaflets without a permit. When asked if he had a permit, Comrade Burlakis said, "Yes," and showed them the Supreme Court rulings. After an hour of questioning (during which the police consulted someone on the telephone), Comrade Burlakis was released and proceeded to distribute the rest of his leaflets.

McKeesport-Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania:

On Thursday, April 1, 1948, Comrade Dallas Reynolds was distributing leaflets on the streets of Pittsburgh, accompanied by Comrade Weatherford. They were arrested and taken to headquarters. After spending the afternoon seeing various officials. Comrade Reynolds reports that "we finally gained all our points, and the local police were instructed by the commissioner of public safety . . . not to interfere with us."

[Since this was written there has been another interference with leaflet distribution in McKeesport. Comrade Reynolds reports that on April 21 he and Comrade Paul Barnes were arrested for "littering the streets." They were released on bail, and at this writing the case is still pending, an attorney having been secured, etc. The stupid mayor is reported as having said that since the city has an ordinance prohibiting distributing literature, and as long as it is on the books, he will see to it that it is enforced. We may suspect that it won't be long "on the books," unless Hizzoner plans to have McKeesport secede from the Union. The city solicitor, according to Comrade Reynolds, seems to take a more enlightened and civilized view of the matter.]

General:

In addition to "official" interference with leaflet distribution, meetings,

etc., many Sections experienced "interference" by hotels, halls, etc., both by refusal to rent them meeting places, and also by attempting in some cases to withdraw from "contracts" made. One such case occurred in New York City, where Section New York rented a room in the Belvedere Hotel for a series of lectures. The hotel tried to withdraw the use of the hall before the series was completed, but upon a protest being lodged, we were permitted to conclude the scheduled series of lectures, but the hotel announced that we could not rent rooms there in the future.

Another method of such "interference," which occurred during the year, was the practice of some of the buildings in which our Sections had headquarters, suddenly and without warning, to increase rents out of all proportion. A case in point is that of Section Seattle. The rent for its headquarters was increased from $25 to $65 per month, the landlord, in effect, serving an eviction notice on our Section.

There are a number of other cases involving the inability of our Sections to obtain halls for meetings, study classes, affairs, etc., apparently for the same general reasons.

The tactic of denying "unpopular minorities" the use of halls, etc., is, of course, an old one. And it is not applied exclusively to the S.L.P., though we are usually the chief sufferers. Mr. Wallace currently is experiencing similar difficulties. Generally, hall owners are motivated by fear of loss of business, rather than because of any particular bias, though there are many exceptions. But the property- and profit-nerve is a sensitive one, and is connected directly with the seat of courage. The heart of the propertied gentry ever resides in their pocketbook. It is to be assumed that there will be more of such "interferences," and certainly reactionary and fascistic elements will not be found wanting to "tip off" hall owners as to where their "best interests" lie. Two evil elements may be counted upon to give us trouble in increasing measure hereafter — the American Legion, the "Praetorian Guard" of the plutocracy, and a huge vested interest in its own right; and the clerico-fascist and Vatican-inspired elements who (having had their brains dug out by the priest-politicians) robot-like follow instructions. If they tangle too often with the S.L.P. we shall have to endeavor to teach them a lesson or two. Perhaps they will not find it quite so simple a matter to stop the S.L.P., though their hoodlum followers may get a bit out of hand at times.

(B) THE WEBER CASE

At long last Comrade Henry Weber, of Section Vancouver, Wash., has been released from military prison, where he had been confined since 1944 for the offense of remaining true to his conscience and convictions. On October 16, 1947, he was again a free man — as free, at least, as one can be under the capitalist system. On one petty pretense or another, the military prison authorities deferred his release, indicating a degree of vindictiveness against this courageous S.L.P. man quite out of the ordinary. About two weeks after his return home, Comrade Weber wrote this letter (dated November 1) to the National Secretary:

"It has been three years and three months since I left Vancouver, and my experiences have been considerable and varied, and most of them were very unpleasant. It would be too large a proposition for me to relate in detail just what those experiences have been.

"Letter-writing is quite a task for me, especially such a letter as this occasion demands; however, I feel that I owe the Socialist Labor Party membership, and especially the National Secretary, including all of those who were associated with him in his endeavors, an expression of gratitude and appreciation for their efforts exerted in my and my family's behalf.

"The tragic fact is that experience that I encountered while in confinement at the designated institution is unbelievable to those unfamiliar with militarism. If I were to pick material to act as a mirror, I would use the institution's stationery, which states that one is forbidden to relate any happenings or events occurring there. Likewise, to mention the names of acting officials. From what I know of the place I just left, it is doing a splendid job of revealing its own personality.

"I can see no reason to dwell on any particular event at this time other than to let you know that it is impossible for an inmate there to maintain all of his good conduct time, as one is constantly kept between two fires. No matter which way one turned a guard was there to report to the officials. In other words, if someone desired you to lose good conduct time, you just lost it, and there was nothing that could be done about it.

"If there is any point that you wish clarified and that I might be able to help with, I shall be only too glad to tell you what I know.

"I am at a complete loss for words to express my gratitude but I do want you and all those who worked in our behalf to know that I feel I owe the S.L.P. a debt that I can never repay, and that the support given my wife can be known only in the circles of the S.L.P. and its sympathizers. Also, many, many thanks for your fraternal greetings.

"As a final remark at this time, I have just gotten an inkling of the amount of correspondence which transpired between Section Vancouver and the National Organization in our behalf, which has inspired me greatly. I wish to add that I am very glad I am a member of such an organization. Words fail me, however. I join in unison with the Party in advocating the abolition of the war-breeding [system of] capitalism with all its evils.

"With very best wishes, I am,

"Fraternally yours,
[signed] "Henry Weber."

In acknowledgment, the National Secretary wrote under date of November 7, 1947:

"Dear Comrade Weber:

"I received your letter of November 1, which I have read with great pleasure and no small measure of pride. We are happy that you have at last been restored to civilization (such as it is), and to your family and comrades; and we are proud that a member of the Socialist Labor Party came

through this terrible ordeal with undiminished courage, unbroken morale and vision undimmed.

"I can well understand that it will take you some time to get readjusted. I hope the 'transition period' will not be unduly prolonged, and that you will soon find a way of making a decent living.

"I am sure that the story of your experiences before and during your confinement at Fort Leavenworth would make interesting and instructive reading. I realize the difficulties you might have in putting all this on paper, but perhaps after a while you will have a better perspective on things, and possibly at such time you might want to discuss this matter with Comrade Hass, our editor.

"For the present we are content to rejoice with you and your family that you are again able to go and come as you please — at least within the restrictions imposed by capitalism in general — and to welcome you back home — home to your folks, and home to your Socialist Labor Party House!"

If any proof were needed to demonstrate the totalitarianism, the utter ruthlessness and the brutalizing nature of militarism, the experience of Comrade Weber supplies it. And it shows again what we know so well that the particular uniform, or the particular flag under which it operates, makes no difference whatever. Militarism and militarists are the same the world over. Militarism and war are an abomination, a towering evil second as such only to the parent evil itself, capitalism. And with the progressive decline of capitalism — the crowning example of slavery and the symbol of brute force — militarism as an institution in this country is constantly pressing itself to the fore. And in the measure war becomes mechanized, to that extent does it, and militarism generally, more and more tend to become a major "industry" — during the last war it was indeed the chief industry toward which all social-productive endeavors were directed. Generally the brass hats look for plausible excuses to push their special vested interests, and the irresponsible and anarchistic acts of Stalinist Russia in recent years have proved a godsend to the military caste in this country — certifying once again to the fact that Stalinism is one of the most effective promoters of reaction in the capitalist world of today.

At any rate, the plutocrats and their lackeys — politicians, editors, preachers (most of them) — are seizing the opportunity to put over their plans for militarizing the country. And in this they are aided by the so-called liberals, and a large segment of the social-democrats, who ever stand ready to lend a show of "respectability" to the reactionary efforts of the ruling class. All signs point to the fulfillment of their dreams — something they had hardly dared to hope for a few years ago. Even the namby-pamby "social-uplifters" who make a show of opposing universal military training declare themselves in favor of what they fatuously call the peacetime "limited draft," naively believing, or professing to believe, that there is such a thing. Once the draft is established in peacetime, there is no such thing conceivable as

limiting it, either in extent or duration. If the militarists succeed in their present schemes, the militarizing of the country will have begun in earnest, with little likelihood that it will then be abolished this side the Socialist Republic.

Realizing what is at stake, our Party has vigorously fought this menace to the remaining liberties we still enjoy under capitalism, and we shall continue to fight this menace, this inciter to World War III, with all our strength and available resources. We must distribute leaflets by the millions; we must seek to reach the workers in ever greater numbers, through the circulation of leaflets, through public meetings, through the radio, and by every other means at our command. It is an uphill battle, the forces arrayed against us are formidable, but all the anti-social forces marshaled to promote the human slaughter industry must not deter us.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

The following constitutional amendments are proposed for the consideration of the National Convention:

1. Article II, Section 12:

This clause deals with the length of time a member must have been a member in order to hold office within the Section. Injected into this clause is a provision to the effect that a year's membership is also required in order to qualify for holding office on a state committee. It is proposed to remove the reference to the state committee (fouth line: "or on a state committee"), and place it under Article IV, which covers state committee matters, and that the required membership length be fixed at two years for the office of State Secretary. The proposed new clause would be designated Article IV, Section 14, to read as follows:

"No member shall be qualified to hold the office of State Secretary who has not held continued membership in the Party at least two years, nor shall any member be qualified to serve as a member of a state executive committee who has not held continued membership for at least one year, *provided*, that a state executive committee unable to comply with this provision may dispense with same, subject to approval by the National Executive Committee."

Comment: It seems obvious that only sufficiently trained and experienced members should serve on such an important body as a state committee, and one year's membership seems scarcely sufficient for the office of State Secretary, though it is believed to be sufficient for membership on the committee.

2. Article II, Section 17:

There appears to be a certain ambiguity or duplication in this clause. First, it is provided that an applicant must sign an application form, and answer all questions in the affirmative. Thereupon the membership committee is charged, among other things, with securing from the applicant "a written declaration embodying his recognition of the fact of the class struggle, and his pledge to support the workers in this struggle." By signing the application the applicant has already declared his recognition of the class

struggle, etc. It is proposed, therefore, to strike out the words beginning in the nineteenth line of the clause: "and to require of him a written declaration embodying his recognition of the class struggle, and his pledge to support the workers in this struggle."

It is further proposed to amplify the sentence ending "answer all the questions in the affirmative," (lines seven and eight from top), so that the sentence will read:

"The applicant shall be required to fill out the regular application form in its entirety, and also to answer all the questions in the affirmative, including his specific recognition of the class struggle as a fact under capitalism (and in other class-ruled societies), and pledge his support to the workers in their struggle with the capitalists."

It is finally proposed that the following question (to be numbered 3, the other questions to be renumbered 4, 5, 6, 7) be added to the application form:

"3. Do you pledge yourself to an unqualified support of the workers in their struggles with the capitalist class? Yes..... No....."

3. Article II, Section 22:

This clause deals with the right of visiting members to speak at meetings of other Sections. It is proposed to add the following, immediately after the words "but shall not be allowed to vote":

"*Provided,* that a Section in executive session may, in accordance with parliamentary procedure, decline to grant the floor to such visiting member in all matters of special inner Section concern, and especially in matters involving disciplinary action against a member under charges, if the Section in its judgment deems it to be in the Party's best interests to do so."

Comment: While there never was any serious question about a Section having the right to regulate discussion in line with parliamentary rules, the fact that during the recent disruption "unmasked enemies" in the Party succeeded in creating considerable confusion and wasting precious time and energy because of the absence of a specific provision to cover what obviously is implied in parliamentary procedure — because of this fact, it is felt that the amplification proposed should be incorporated in the clause, so that the obvious may be made *explicit* rather than *implicit* in the Party's Constitution.

4. Article II, Section 23:

This clause deals with the transfer of members. It is proposed to add a clause, to be designated "a," to *precede* the present clause (to be designated "b"), to read as follows:

"a. A member desiring to transfer to another Section must present his membership card to the Financial Secretary of his Section (or, if a national member-at-large, to the National Secretary), who will initiate the transfer, provided such member is, or places himself, in good standing, and provided further that no charges are pending, or about to be filed against him, and provided, finally, that the Section has no other claims against him. The

transferring member shall, without delay, contact the receiving Section, and complete his transfer."

Comment: The lack of a provision such as the one proposed appears to have caused doubt and confusion in some Sections. It is felt that a specific procedure should be outlined.

5. Article II, Section 29:

This proposed amendment is submitted by instruction of the N.E.C. in session May, 1947. For the sake of greater clarity and convenience, it is also proposed to break down this long section into several clauses to be numbered a, b, c, d and e. The amendment expressly proposed by the N.E.C. would be clause "d," and reads as follows:

"No member who is not a party to the proceedings shall be allowed to be present at Grievance Committee hearings, except upon invitation of, or with the specific approval of the Grievance Committee."

Comment: This proposed amendment grew out of the experiences made during the disruption. Grievance Committees should be left undisturbed, or uninfluenced, in conducting hearings involving a member under charges.

6. Article II, Section 30:

It is proposed to amend this section by amplifying the reference to the minutes, etc., relating to trials of members. The fifth line from the bottom of page 13 should read:

"The *relevant parts of the Section's* minutes, and all *documents* concerning the investigation, shall be delivered to the organizer, who thereupon shall forward them to the National Office, where they shall be kept in a special file."

Comment: The italicized parts constitute the new or substituted words. The reason for the suggested changes appears to be self-explanatory.

7. Article II, Section 34:

The question covered in this proposed amendment was also referred to the convention for consideration by the N.E.C. in May, 1947, session. It is proposed to add a clause (to be designated "b," the present clause to be designated "a"), viz.:

"b. Any member under charges who circulates, or aids in circulating, a lampoon shall be summarily expelled, in the same manner, and for the same reason, that a member declared guilty in default is expelled summarily under clause 'a' of this section. He shall have forfeited all rights to appeal his case."

Comment: Any member who issues or circulates lampoons thereby reveals himself as a proven enemy of the Socialist Labor Party, and all that it stands for. It would be as farcical to proceed with the case of such a member as it would be to try him twice for the same offence, and to find him guilty of the same offence twice. By resorting to lampooning, a member under charges loses the presumption of innocence until found guilty, the fact of lampooning *ipso facto* establishing him as an S.L.P. enemy unmasked.

8. Article II, Section 34:

It is proposed that after the words "or not deemed valid, shall be," the following words be added:

"considered in disruptive contempt of the Party."

Comment: Any member who is under charges, and refuses to appear for trial, by so doing manifests his contempt for the Party, thereby also convicting himself as a disrupter. The fact should be made explicit in the Constitution.

9. Article III, Section 4, and Section 5, a, b and c:

These sections deal with what are designated local propaganda committees. It is proposed to strike out the designation "propaganda" wherever it occurs, and to edit the amended parts accordingly. As amended, the two sections would read:

"Section 4. In cities, towns, or other localities where there exist a Section or Sections of the Socialist Labor Party, and a Branch or Branches of any S.L.P. Language Federation, there shall be formed a committee composed of delegates from said Sections and Branches, whose function it shall be to supplement the agitation of the S.L.P. in such localities, in addition to such agitation as may be carried on by the respective Sections and Branches separately. In cases, however, where this form of committee is impractical, this provision may, with the specific approval of the National Executive Committee, be modified to suit local conditions.

"Section 5. (a) Such committee shall exercise neither executive nor initiating powers. Its sole functions shall be those of coordinating the activities of the Sections and Branches concerned, within such scope as may be determined by the bodies represented, and to carry out the instructions of the constituent bodies in all matters concerning them collectively.

"(b) The constituent bodies may authorize the committee to act with respect to certain details incidental to plans or policies previously determined by them. Such details must be limited to those which logically flow from, or are necessary to, the proper carrying out of previously issued instructions, or plans already formulated by the constituent bodies.

"(c) The Section being the unit of organization, no authority conferred upon the committee for specific tasks or activities shall be regarded as power or authority surrendered by any Section represented on the committee. The committee is the creature of the constituent bodies, who retain full power of final decisions in all matters concerning them, severally and individually.

"(d) Local organizations may supplement these provisions by appropriate by-laws, provided such do not run counter to the clear intent and language of the aforesaid provisions."

Comment: Complaints have been made to the effect that the term "Propaganda Committee" has presented obstacles, especially on letterheads, when applications are made for halls, especially in hotels, or when opening a bank account, etc. It is felt that local Sections should be left free to choose such designation as may to them appear to serve the Party's best interest.

10. Article XII, Section 4:

Here provisions are made for representation on State Executive Commit-

tees and at State Conventions by Language Federations. It is proposed to add, in the sixth line, after the word "campaigns," the following:

". . . provided they are citizens of the United States."

Comment: It is logical and proper that only citizens should participate in voting on matters "pertaining to the conduct of political campaigns."

It is suggested that new sections to the constitution be placed after the present last section of the respective article. This suggestion is made because of the fact that Federation Constitutions, State by-laws, etc., refer to specific Articles and sections in the Party Constitution by number. It is most desirable to avoid renumbering of sections (as far as possible), so as to make unnecessary numerical reference changes in other by-laws, printed forms, etc. If this suggestion is adopted, a bracketed note could be inserted in the proper place referring to the new provision.

* * * * *

This concludes proposed amendments to the constitution in this report. However, the N.E.C. also referred to this convention for clarification, or possible amendment, the proper procedure in cases of vacancies on the N.E.C. suddenly occurring at the time of the annual N.E.C. session. There have been two such incidents in recent years. In 1945 Comrade I. Feinberg, then residing in New Jersey, had been elected N.E.C. member from Region 3. However, after he had been elected, but about two or three weeks prior to the N.E.C. session, he moved to New York City, thus technically no longer residing in the area that had elected him. The N.E.C. minutes of the 1945 session record that the credential committee (of the N.E.C.) recommended that "he be seated as member even though now residing in Region 2, in accordance with suggestion of N.E.C. Sub-Committee." No one objected — all apparently agreed that this was the common sense thing to do.

At its 1947 session a somewhat similar case presented itself. There had been two nominees for the N.E.C. in Region 4, Comrades A. A. Albaugh, and James Sim. Comrade Albaugh's own Section had nominated Comrade Sim. However, Comrade Albaugh received the highest vote, and was declared elected. As one of the immediate results of the disruption in Section Cleveland, and also because of the removal from the state of Comrade L. D. Cohen, the S.E.C. found itself in temporary difficulty with regard to the constituting of a fully manned S.E.C. Comrade Albaugh agreed to accept membership on the Ohio S.E.C., deeming it more important, under the prevailing circumstances, to do so than to serve on the N.E.C., especially so since apparently he had not expected to be elected to the N.E.C. Accordingly, he tendered his resignation from the N.E.C. on the eve of the 1947 session. Since Comrade Sim had been N.E.C. member for a number of years, and since he undoubtedly would have been elected if Comrade Albaugh had withdrawn from the race earlier, and in the light of the N.E.C. action of 1945, it was assumed that the N.E.C. action of 1945 would prompt, and fully justify, similar action by the 1947 N.E.C. However, despite similarity in the two cases, the N.E.C. credential committee of 1947 brought in a report of "no recommendation," as regards the seating of Comrade Sim. After consider-

able discussion, the N.E.C. decided to seat Comrade Sim, at the same time adopting a motion reading as follows:

"Your committee has taken cognizance of the situation with which the N.E.C. has twice been confronted, viz., filling of a vacancy on the N.E.C. caused by resignation or removal from a region of an N.E.C. member-elect, with insufficient time before the N.E.C. session to permit another election. The N.E.C. has twice met this situation by permitting the affected region to be represented. Your committee recommends that the problem be placed before the 1948 National Convention, to establish proper constitutional provision for filling such N.E.C. vacancies."

Accordingly, the matter is herewith placed before the national convention for proper action.

* * * * *

Another matter that rises to trouble the Party occasionally is the question of a tie vote. It was presented to the 1940 National Convention through the N.E.C. report, with a proposed amendment designed to solve the problem. The 1940 convention committee on constitution, etc., however, recommended non-concurrence, and the proposed amendment failed of adoption. No explanation or reason was given by the constitution committee for its recommendation of non-concurrence. The question was raised again by Comrade Theo. Baeff in connection with certain action taken at the Bulgarian Federation Convention at Christmas, 1945. The matter is hereby presented again for possible renewed consideration. To do so as conveniently as possible, the following is quoted from the N.E.C. report to the 1940 National Convention:

"Article XIII, [proposed] new Section 3:

"New section, providing as follows:

" 'Whenever, in any vote on a motion at Section business meetings, the vote of the chairman will produce a tie, the said motion shall not be regarded as having failed. When, however, a tie is produced without the chairman having voted on the question, the chairman may then cast the deciding vote.'

"*Comment*: The reason for this proposed amendment goes back to trouble which arose in then Section Peoria, Ill. Internal disturbances had reached the point of virtual disruption, and on a motion, the carrying of which was important to the Section's, and therefore the Party's welfare, the chairman (who was on the side of the disturbers) voted with the minority, thereby creating a tie, and thus transformed a minority into a majority which actually, even with his vote, was no more of a majority than the opposing side, which happened to represent the Party's best interests. *Robert's Rules of Order* provides that the chairman 'can vote with the minority when it will produce a tie vote and thus cause the motion to fail; but he cannot vote twice, first to make a tie, and then to give the casting vote.' The fact remains, however, that by voting with the minority, thereby creating a tie, the chairman in effect does give a 'casting' vote, since by voting as he did he, in effect, cast the deciding vote, favoring the minority.

"When the question came before the N.E.C. Sub-Committee in 1937

(and subsequently before the N.E.C. at its May session, 1938), the Sub-Committee was obliged to sustain the disturbing element in the Section, since *Robert's Rules of Order* was on their side, and in the absence of a provision to the contrary in the S.L.P. Constitution, *Robert's Rules of Order* governs. In a letter to the Section, the National Secretary, writing on behalf of the N.E.C. Sub-Committee, stated:

" 'I submitted your letter of September 16 [1937], requesting a ruling, to the N.E.C. Sub-Committee, at its regular meeting held September 23, and I was instructed to advise you that since *Robert's Rules of Order* specifically governs the organization wherever no special rules are provided, the action of the chairman at the Section Peoria meeting casting a vote to create a tie, thereby causing the motion to be lost, was constitutional.

" 'I was instructed, however, to add that, although the N.E.C. Sub-Committee has no choice but to declare the chairman right in acting as he did, the committee is of the opinion that such action is not in the best interests of the organization. Steps will be taken at the proper time to attempt the adoption of a constitutional amendment which will make it impossible for a chairman at a Section meeting to cast his vote so as to create a tie, whereby a motion may become lost.

" 'The N.E.C. Sub-Committee, however, felt it to be its duty to call to the attention of Section Peoria that, although the chairman was technically justified in acting as he did, it is decidedly not to the best interests of the organization that advantage be taken of the technicality invoked causing a motion to be lost, by the chairman effecting a tied vote by casting his own vote. I need hardly add that the Sub-Committee's opinion, however, cannot and does not affect the final decision of the Section resulting from the chairman's having voted to create a tied vote.' "

To the letter from Comrade Baeff dated January 6, 1946, the National Secretary replied in part as follows:

"You inform me that the motion to change the convention date resulted in a tie vote. *Robert's Rules of Order* is confusing and inconsistent on the question of a tie vote. I tried to have the Party Constitution amended at the 1940 Convention in order to resolve this confusion, and to settle definitely the doubt as to the effect of, and resultant procedure concerning, a tie vote, but the convention turned down the amendment I had proposed in the report to the convention. And now the same problem faces us. One section of *Robert's Rules of Order* provides (pp. 191-192):

" 'On a tie vote the motion is lost, and the chair . . . may vote *to make it a tie* unless the vote is by ballot. The chair cannot, however, vote twice, first to make a tie, and then give the casting vote.'

"This seems clear and unqualified. Under this provision the vote of 11 for, and 11 against, should have been declared lost. The chairman did *not* create the tie vote, and nothing is said here about the chairman voting *after* the result had been announced. The assumption, then, would seem to be that he could not vote after the result had been announced, though how he is to know in advance whether his vote might or might not have made it a tie

vote, or in any other way affect the result, is a mystery to me.

"However, in another section, *Robert's Rules of Order* tells us (p. 238):

" 'If [the chairman is] a member of the assembly, he is entitled to vote when the vote is by ballot (*but not after the tellers have commenced to count the BALLOTS*), and in *all* other cases where the vote would change the result.'

"In the first place, he can *only* vote when the vote is by ballot; in the second place he can vote 'in all other cases' when his vote will affect the result! The one knocks out the other. And again I ask: how can he know in advance whether or not his vote will 'change the result'?

"Inconsistent and contradictory as all this seems to me to be, we are presumably governed by the provision that he can vote when his vote will affect the result. Under that provision it appears that the chairman of your convention had the right to break the tie, and that accordingly the motion to change the convention date carried.

"But now enters another conflicting element: I refer you to the Minutes of the Party's National Convention of 1940, pages 51-52 (see also p. 21). As already stated, it was proposed that in case of a tie vote, the motion should not be regarded as lost; also, that the chairman should be permitted to cast a deciding vote in case of a tie. The convention, I repeat, voted down this proposal. But by doing so, the convention also, in effect, decided that the chairman shall not be permitted to cast the deciding vote!

"However, I assume it will be considered that by turning down the proposed amendment, *Robert's Rules of Order* was left as the governing factor, and if that is so, then the chairman, it would seem, did have the right to cast the deciding vote, since 'in all other cases' (when his vote would affect the result) is all-inclusive.

"I pause for breath!!"

The N.E.C. Sub-Committe subsequently ruled that *Robert's Rules of Order* had to be followed, pending possible amendment to the constitution. It would seem desirable to adopt the proposed amendment, but if this is not done, the National Office should be supplied with reasons or explanations, so that inquiries may be answered properly and logically in the future.

INTERNAL DIFFICULTIES

The year 1947 will go down in S.L.P. history as a year of major disruption and conspiratory assault on the Party. For by this time it is established beyond any doubt that this was no mere local disruptive outbreak—no mere impulsive revolt against Party discipline and Party decency—no mere expression of honest differences of opinion concerning Party policies and procedure. It was a deeply laid plot, a diabolically conceived and systematically executed conspiracy against the Socialist Labor Party, in which known enemies on the outside took an active and directing part. In this respect it follows the "law of S.L.P. existence" outlined by De Leon in his oft-quoted words:

"An organization, holding so correct and, consequentiy, aggressive a position as that of the Socialist Labor Party . . . cannot choose but *be the object of deep plots periodically sprung against its existence* . . . It goes without saying that an organization which holds such a post of danger must be periodically convulsed by intrigues *started from without* . . . Such, indeed, has been the experience of the Socialist Labor Party. It is an experience that, coupled with the Party's approved indestructibility . . . attests the fact that the Socialist Labor Party holds 'the center of the stage'; that its mere existence is a rebuke under which its foes writhe."

Would that these words may burn themselves into the memories of friends and foes alike. Into the memories of friends that they may never be caught napping, never fall the innocent victims of blandishments, chicanery and intrigue. Into the memories of the foe, so that they may perhaps some day realize the stupidity, the utter fatuousness, of attempting to scuttle the S.L.P. ship. That sturdy craft is built to withstand all storms, to rebuff all the waves of reaction that may threaten to overwhelm it. *The S.L.P. is here to stay.* Let the reaction and its satellites (within or without the organization) take notice. But it is also well to note that no organization is stronger than the intelligence, the alertness, and the well-informed judgment of its loyal supporters make it.

Since the 1947 N.E.C. Session, the disruption and conspiracy followed their expected course. With minor echoes the conspiracy has petered out. One after the other, subdivisions affected have cleaned house, and cleared out the aliens, the contemptible crooks that so brazenly and stupidly dared to challenge the Party's existence. And every subdivision affected has emerged stronger, if slightly "weaker" numerically, than before.

Unity prevails, where formerly disunity ruled and prevented the affected Sections from carrying on their appointed tasks. And the disrupters and conspirators now stand completely unmasked, self-convicted as the deadly enemies of the S.L.P. that we knew them to be at the very outset, and in some cases long before the outbreak. And as if they wanted to remove the last vestige of doubt as to their sincerity and honesty of purpose, they have, as intimated, allied themselves with outside elements, long known to be implacable foes of all that the S.L.P. stands for. While some of them still occasionally wrap their pretenses in alleged concern for the Party, the real motives are frankly revealed by the less crafty conspirators, as, for example, when one of the New York disrupters (a brainless female acting as a tool for one of the ringleaders), in a lampoon issued a year ago, declared that "The S.L.P. is not the democratic organization it pretends to be. It is a fraud." In this instance the disruptive fool forgot "the line." She forgot that the National Secretary was supposed to be the "villain" in the piece, and, forgetting, revealed the real views and purpose of the conspirators. And yet, brazenly denouncing and vilifying the S.L.P., they nevertheless, in their boundless stupidity, send their lampoons to the very S.L.P. membership reviled by them!

In some distant Sections there were echoes of the disruption, but the

echoes fell flat. In Los Angeles, for instance, emissaries of the conspirators tried their criminal hand at undermining the Section's confidence in the Party, with results that in a good cause would have been called pathetic. One of these emissaries was a mindless female from New York, who was not even a member of Section Los Angeles. Another was a hysterical female, formerly a member of Section Milwaukee (like New York, a center of disruption), who, with her docile husband-partner, sought to promote the "cause" of the conspirators. Section New York promptly handled the former, and Section Los Angeles as promptly dealt proper justice to the latter. Another echo was in the Chicago South Slavonian Branch, where the mother of the convicted traitors, Ray and N. Mijanovich, and a couple of their cronies, attempted to disrupt the Branch, with the expected result. The Branch promptly placed them where they belonged.

And thus it went. Practically all the Sections adopted strong resolutions, condemning the Party criminals, and recording their unshaken confidence in the Party and its administrative bodies and officers. It would, of course, be impossible to reproduce all these resolutions in this report, nor is it necessary to do so. A few have been selected, as typical of the rest. Section Oakland (of which the corrupted, the late, former assistant to our Editor, was a member for a while) wrote in a report to the Section membership by the organizer, under date of February 2, 1948:

"For the rest, we might well be grateful that our Section was untouched by the disruption that flared into the open in other Sections of the Party. As you all know, the disrupters visited the Bay Area, hoping to find weak ones among us to recruit to their cause in infamy. If they could know the effect their lampoons had on us, they would sink with chagrin into oblivion."

From our veteran Comrade John D. Carlson, of Section New Haven, Conn., came this note (February 25, 1948):

"I am enclosing a lampoon, the latest one I received. I presume you are familiar with it. The question in my mind is: Can it be possible that these dirty individuals ever were honest S.L.P. members? Their brains have become so corrupted. It reminds me of the cry against De Leon in 1899—Just get rid of De Leon and let's run the Party, and we shall have Socialism in short order! But, as Ernest Oatley once answered a Kangaroo:

" 'De Leon has made us so clear and classconscious that if he ever makes a wrong move we will kick him out of the Party.'

"Yours for the clear-cut revolutionary S.L.P. . . . ."

Section Kings County, N.Y., afflicted with a set of disrupters as ignorant as they were dishonest, unanimously adopted this resolution of February 23, 1948:

"Whereas, Section Kings County has completed the reading of the portions of the 1947 N.E.C. Report dealing with the vicious effort to disrupt the Socialist Labor Party, and

"Whereas, Section Kings County finds itself in wholehearted agree-

ment with the effective action taken by the National Executive Committee, the National Executive Committee's Sub-Committee and the National Secretary to defeat the efforts of these unprincipled and dishonest conspirators and disrupters, and

"Whereas, Section Kings County recognizes the need to be ever on the alert against similar attempts to disrupt the Socialist Labor Party, and, if possible, thereby to destroy the only bona fide Socialist organization in the United States; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That Section Kings County hereby expresses its appreciation for the efficiency and alertness of the National Office and the National Executive bodies in protecting the Party and its principles, and be it further

"Resolved, That Section Kings County hereby expresses its complete confidence in the National Executive Committee, its Sub-Committee and the National Secretary, and be it finally

"Resolved, That Section Kings County hereby expresses its determination to be constantly on the alert for any sign of disruption within its ranks, in order promptly to eliminate any and all disruptive elements from its midst."

Many other Sections adopted resolutions in similar vein.

Section Monroe County, N.Y., stressing the importance of selecting qualified members, and keeping the Party's ranks clear and clean, wrote:

"At the crucial hour we want to feel that we can place absolute dependence on one another. We are not playing for marbles in this game of revolution."

Section San Francisco, in a resolution unanimously adopted April 28, 1947, resolved—

"That the purpose and the tactics of this disruptive element be thoroughly condemned and repudiated".... "That the Section rally to the support of the National Secretary, and hereby declare its confidence in his ability and integrity".... "That the Section pledge itself anew to the revolutionary task of the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of the workers' power, the Socialist Industrial Republic of Labor."

Section Wayne County, in a unanimous resolution adopted October 8, 1947, resolved:

"That the patience and thorough analysis by the National Secretary, N.E.C. Sub-Committee and the N.E.C. of the latest disruptive attack on the Party's principles were highly commendatory, and their actions to preserve the Party's interests have the wholehearted endorsement of the Section membership."

Comrade G. Pullman, then organizer of Section Onondaga Co., N.Y., in a letter dated May 8, 1947, expressed the view that the conspiracy "has been a long time brewing," and also commented on lampoons mailed to him. In reply, the National Secretary wrote:

"I read your comments on the disruptive situation in the Party with interest. There is, of course, no question about the disruptive scoundrels'

having stolen the Party mailing list, both local and national. The envenomed B.F. Orange had, of course, access to the local New York mailing list and his co-conspirator, N. Mijanovich, had access to the WEEKLY PEOPLE mailing list. It does seem, according to your letter, as if they hadn't quite kept these lists up to date, a fact which, as you point out, simply shows that the conspiracy has been very long in hatching.

"What may, perhaps, subsequently be known as the first stage in this disruptive and conspiratorial assault on the Party may be said to have now closed. Except for cleaning up odds and ends of the disruptive mess in Cook County and Milwaukee, the visible and vociferous disrupters have now been disposed of. I wish I could think that the disruption has been otherwise completely ended, and that all the disrupters have been exposed to full view. I am personally satisfied that such is not the case, and that some plotters are still active, some of whom, for all we now know, may even be prominent in the Party's councils. However, we are ready for them, and will deal with them according to their deserts, and in accordance with the standards of the S.L.P. Intriguers and plotters in the S.L.P. have a very short life!"

Comrade Albaugh, of Section Stark County, Ohio, reported receipt of lampoons, which he had destroyed, and expressed doubt as to whether he should have sent them to the National Office. In a brief acknowledgment, the National Secretary wrote:

"You did quite right in destroying the filthy lampoons mailed to you by the disrupters. They are certainly spending a lot of money doing this dirty work. Wonder who is financing them? Paraphrasing Cardinal Wolsey (in Shakespeare's Henry VIII): 'Would they had but served the S.L.P. with half the zeal that they serve its enemies.' "

The disrupters have not only carried their work as instruments of capitalist interests beyond Party borders, but beyond the country's borders as well. Both Comrades Cotton and Debragh report receipt of their idiotic lampoons, and both disposed of them as was to be expected. Comrade Cotton wrote a lengthy letter, which really was an excellent essay on disrupters and conspiracies against the S.L.P. Unfortunately it is too long to reproduce here. Comrade Debragh factually reported that he was "tearing up Orange's correspondence [i.e., lampoon] and consigning it to the waste basket."

Comrade H. N. Simon recently addressed a meeting in Chicago (not held under the direct auspices of Section Cook County), at which the traitor Ray Mijanovich (and others) showed up, threatening to disrupt the meeting. They were effectively dealt with by the presiding officer of the meeting (not a member of the Party). In replying to a comrade who referred to the incident, the National Secretary wrote (April 2, 1948):

"Yes, Comrade Coretz wrote me about the plan of the disrupters to disrupt the meeting addresed by Comrade Simon, as did Comrade Ed. Gross of Section Cook County. As has been said so often, when a member of the S.L.P. turns traitor against the Party, there is no act so low,

no falsehood so corrupt, no libel so despicable, but that he will stoop to the performance of one or all. Principles, common honesty, and elementary decency, mean nothing to these scamps. Moreover, they do their filthy work with such an enormous degree of stupidity, that it quite takes one's breath away. The combination of megalomania, injured personal vanity, desire to become a 'leader,' stupidity, and, usually, cupidity—this combination is too much for the feeble minds of the average disrupters. Disruption against the S.L.P. inevitably leads to disruption within the 'circles' of the disrupters themselves. It is the law of their being.

"Finally, their utter depravity is pointed up by their sending their obscene lampoons to total strangers—people who often have not even heard of the S.L.P.—and to Party sympathizers who (lacking the background and facts possessed by Party members) obviously do not understand what this is all about, and generally draw the wrong conclusions from the incomplete facts and libelous statements peddled by the villainous conspirators and disrupters.

"However, trained S.L.P. members are not imposed upon by these creatures, and thus the dirty work of the disrupters is largely done in vain, except in so far as they confirm with a vengeance the Party's findings that they are, in truth and in fact, Party criminals."

The unscrupulous B.F. Orange figures rather largely in this unprincipled lampooning campaign. Unworthy son of a great S.L.P. man, he has stooped to the lowest level possible as an enemy of all that his father stood for. Our Section Evansville organizer recently reported receipt of a lampoon he had received from the wretch. Commenting upon the action of this vicious disrupter in a letter to the National Office, Comrade Miller wrote:

"Tuesday of this week I received a letter from Benjamin F. Orange . . . New York. This rascal should be in the employ of the capitalist class because he is trying to do exactly what they would want done. His kind know [that] the principle upon which the S.L.P. is organized means the failure of their plans for its destruction. His four pages mean what I now place in capitals: 'I AIM TO KILL THE S.L.P.' "

The gentleman who is dishonoring a noble name in S.L.P. history had also sent one of the lampoons to a veteran of the S.L.P., Comrade Newman, of Section New York, who was an old friend of the late Adolph Orange of upward of fifty years' standing. Comrade Newman made the mistake of rebuking the disrupter in a letter, copy of which he sent to the National Secretary. The particular lampoon in question was one in which a startling discovery was announced—the discovery that the National Secretary some ten years ago had sent our late Comrade Jack Grossman to Canada to investigate (to "spy," the disrupter had it) the affairs of the Canadian S.L.P., then directly connected with the S.L.P. of America. The fact that all this was reported in the National Secretary's report to the N.E.C. in its 1938 session had escaped the nincompoop. Not being without its element of humor, and for the benefit of the younger mem-

bers in the Party, the incident as briefly related in the National Secretary's reply to Comrade Newman is reproduced herewith:

"Dear Comrade Newman:

"Thank you for your letter of September 25 with which you enclosed copy of your letter to the despicable disrupter and renegade, B.F. Orange. While your letter to this vicious scamp was excellent and to the point, he was not worthy the dignity that a letter from you bestowed on him. Ignoring the rascals is the proper and effective procedure by S.L.P. men. As De Leon put it:

" 'How will you stop the mouth of the slanderer? The only way to ram the thing down is not to allow it to affect you. When the slanderer finds he cannot irritate the Party man he will give up.'

"Of course, De Leon referred to the average, or normal slanderer and disrupter; B.F. Orange is hardly that... You and I know what his father, that outstanding and devoted S.L.P. man, Adolph Orange, would say to or about his eldest son in his disgrace. Which recalls an incident from the Bronx (1927) disruption related to me by Adolph Orange. One of the disrupters, that ugly character J. Diamond, tauntingly said to Adolph Orange: 'You just wait, your turn will come.' To which our late comrade replied: 'If ever I turn disrupter or renegade, I will deserve all that the Party metes out to me.' Some apples do, indeed, fall miles from the old tree!

"Incidentally, the 'recently discovered' documents, which the conspirator refers to, were reproduced in the printed N.E.C. report of 1938. For obvious reasons, our late Comrade Grossman's 'impressions' of certain Canadian comrades (for which he, of course, was solely responsible) were not included. Comrade Jack Grossman had been sent to Canada by the N.E.C. Sub-Committee (on request of the Canadian comrades) to help them straighten out their financial accounts (Comrade Grossman was an expert accountant) and their organizational difficulties. Their accounts (by their own acknowledgment) were in such a mess that two conclusions were possible: either there was crooked business afoot, or they were utterly incompetent to handle the accounts, etc., in a business-like manner. The Sub-Committee assumed the latter was the case, and Comrade Grossman was sent to put things in order for them, and to instruct them.

"While I do not recall it, it is quite probable that in conversation with Comrade Grossman I suggested to him that he size up the leading personnel among the Canadian comrades. Apart from the principle involved, the S.L.P. had contributed large amounts to the Canadians (my impression is that we contributed upward of $800 for the printing of Canadian leaflets), and naturally the N.E.C. Sub-Committee was anxious to be reassured that we were dealing with responsible members. This, in the mind of the... perverted B.F. Orange, becomes spying by the National Secretary!

"Enough of this. I was glad to receive your letter, partly for the opportunity it gave me to refresh memories on these facts without otherwise dignifying the scurrilities of a schizophrenic with the honor of official recognition."

[*Post-convention note*: The ringleader among the Cleveland disrupters was the sneak-conspirator R. B. Tussey. Although that gentleman had shown his disruptionist intentions previously, he managed to pull the wool over the eyes of his deluded supporters—assuming some of these to be honest. His nauseating truckling to the bosses (as revealed in his writings for the company house-organ) should have been enough to open the eyes of any decent S.L.P. man, but they seem to have meant nothing to those who aided him in his dishonest and hypocritical performance at Section meetings, since all he had to do was to open his foul mouth, whereupon his dupes said, "Amen!" Since his expulsion he has completely dropped the mask, and has come out openly in alliance with the anarcho-syndicalist I.W.W., veteran De Leonist foes. Handbills and papers mailed to the National Office reveal him as a speaker for the "I.W.W.," featured as such with one of the "leaders" of the I.W.W. He has also contributed articles to the "I.W.W." ("Bummery") official organ.

And this was the foul bird who wanted to "save" the S.L.P. from the "dictatorship" of the National Secretary and the N.E.C. of the Party, etc.! And this blatant whippersnapper succeeded in duping some of the oldest members of Section Cleveland! We learn from history that some people never learn anything from history!]

It is hardly necessary to repeat that it is improper, and should be regarded beneath the dignity of S.L.P. men, to reply to the lampoons of conspirators and traitors. One can, however, understand and sympathize with the outraged feelings of a loyal member who in anger finds it difficult to restrain himself under such provocation. Our young national organizer, Comrade Dallas Reynolds, found himself a victim of this anger and resentment when he forgot himself to the extent of writing a letter to one of the disrupters expelled by Section New York, the wife of the unclean, long-since expelled disrupter, M. P. Chuck, who is the cousin of the mendacious N. Mijanovich. A bit pompously, it would seem and with what appears to smack of condescension, our young organizer confided to the disrupter (who no doubt derived a degree of comfort from the fact of receiving recognition by a national organizer of the Party): "We loyal members of the Party will replace Comrades ["Comrades," no less, to a disrupter!] Petersen and Hass when we find persons who can handle their jobs more efficiently. Right now, I can think of no one who could do so." In saying "Right now," Comrade Reynolds conveyed the impression (unintentionally, no doubt) that he would take the matter under later advisement!

In rebuking him for his improper act, the National Secretary wrote Comrade Reynolds:

"I am sorry that you dignified this lampoon with a reply. As De Leon used to say, debates on internal party matters stop at the Party boundary. Or, as we have also said repeatedly, the Party does not argue with garbage gotten rid of.

"Apart from that, it also seems to me that there are certain passages in your letter from which a disrupter of the type of Rosalie Loewenthal might draw some comfort. However, the basic point is that you should not have dignified her lampoon with a reply in the first place."

Even worse than dignifying disrupters with replies to their lampoons is the receiving of disrupters in the homes of members, even uninvited disrupters. So far as is known there has been only one instance of such impropriety, barring cases of very close relatives. The member in question (a Connecticut comrade) reported to the National Office that he had been visited by one of the young whippersnappers expelled by Section New York, one of those barely out of their teens, but as vicious and loud-mouthed as any among the major disrupters. In replying to the Connecticut comrade, the National Secretary wrote (February 13, 1948):

"I received your letter of February 10. While obviously there is no question whatever about your understanding of, and attitude toward, the disrupters, it would have been more satisfactory if you had written me that upon sight of the visiting disrupter you had ordered him out of your house.

"Whatever the particular young fool may or may not feel, or whatever his motives may be, the fact remains that he is an active participant in one of the most vicious and corrupt campaigns of disruption against the Party in many, many years. He and his fellow gangsters are thoroughly unscrupulous, thoroughly unprincipled, lying as corruptly as any Stalinist robot or capitalist politician. This type of individual, or anyone consorting with him, should not be regarded as fit company for a loyal and decent S.L.P. member. I hope that if this individual, or anyone of his kind, should again presume to call on you, you will make short shrift of him.

"To argue or reason with these people is not only utterly futile, it is certainly degrading as well, from the standpoint of the S.L.P. I hope you agree with me fully."

That a member of the S.L.P. should not consider himself grossly insulted and dishonored by being visited by these lying scoundrels and their mindless supporters in disruption is one of those things that one finds it difficult to understand.

One of the favorite Jesuitical arguments of some of the disrupters (prior to expulsion) is that they had the right to fraternize with anyone they chose, even convicted and expelled S.L.P. enemies. As one of the expelled scamps put it: "What Party calling itself democratic forbids its members to associate with others"—meaning by "others" expelled traitors. One of our recently admitted members confessed to some confusion on this and related points, and for his benefit the National Secretary at-

tempted to clear him up in a letter, of which the following is an excerpt (the name of the member is left unmentioned):

"2. As for the reference in the Constitution to lampoons, and what Sections and members should do with them, there is no need or room for speculation on the matter. It is clearly stated that this is a ruling by the N.E.C., and, as such, it is binding on all members until reversed or overruled. It is among the duties of the N.E.C. to make such rulings, and the N.E.C. is responsible to the National Convention and/or to the membership for making rulings. No member can suit his own whim or fancy with regard to compliance with such rulings. The fact, as you point out, that three conventions have met since the particular ruling was made means that the ruling has been approved by the National Convention, since the convention approved the reports of the N.E.C. made to it, including all N.E.C. acts other than those (if any) that may have been rejected or superseded by specific convention action. This, too, is elementary.

"3. While the N.E.C. ruling does not expressly say that members are not to read lampoons, it most certainly is clearly implied in the language of the resolution, which specifically says that lampoons are to be 'returned *unopened* to the sender.' If it is returned *unopened*, how can the recipient read it? The reason for the insistence upon returning lampoons unopened is not that the Party is afraid of the effect a reading of it might have upon a member. Quite to the contrary. The reason lies deeper than that, as 'Comrade X' should know if he is a properly qualified S.L.P. member. Anyone expelled from the S.L.P. has established his unfitness for membership. If, after his expulsion, he lampoons the membership, he not only confirms that he is unfit, but the act of lampooning, *ipso facto*, certifies to his immoral character as well (in the Party organizational sense), and constitutes final and conclusive proof that he is an enemy of all that the S.L.P. stands for. Lampooning is the act of an organizational anarchist—it is the act of a disrupter who has been tried by his peers and found guilty under Party law and rules of procedure—who thereupon flouts the very law and democratic procedure he invoked while a member. By lampooning the members (and, even worse, non-members who are sympathetic to the Party), the disrupter announces that he holds the Party in contempt, that he, even while honored with membership, considered himself apart from and above Party law—that, in fact, he was and is a law unto himself; which is but another way of saying that he is an anarchist, and a deadly enemy of S.L.P. principles.

"Accordingly, a lampoon, regardless of its contents, is *prima facie* evidence of its sender's immoral purpose, of his Party enmity, hence of his solidarity with the enemy of the Party and the working class. The disrupter *knows* that with his expulsion the stage of debate and reasoning with him has ended, and that no decent, useful purpose can be served by continuing it beyond Party borders. By expelling him, the Party has branded him disloyal and unworthy. *What the Party has rejected, every*

single loyal member has rejected, or should reject. That, also, is elementary.

No member who respects the S.L.P. should have any desire to do that which the *Party* refuses to do. Party association and fraternization having ceased for the disrupter, once he is expelled, such fraternization and association by the individual *loyal* members must similarly cease. The Party ignores all lampoons by expelled disrupters, obviously so. Why should any loyal member set himself above the Party in this respect by insisting on the 'right' to read lampoons? The contention that a member 'may read anything he may chose [sic] to read,' belongs in 'liberal' and reform circles, where it may pass as sound currency. In the S.L.P. it is recognized as the counterfeit coin that in fact it is.

A decent, self-respecting person does not quibble about the 'right' to befriend the scoundrel who slanders and vilifies, say, his wife, or his close relatives and friends whom he loves and respects. Certainly such a decent, self-respecting person is moved by a proper and understandable desire to manifest his contempt for the vilifying scoundrel. Why should a decent, self-respecting S.L.P. member wish to do less as regards those who vilify, and seek to destroy, the Party he calls his own, and which supposedly he loves and respects? Why should he not wish to manifest the greatest contempt for the scoundrels who have proved themselves enemies of the Party? To return *unopened* all lampoons to the convicted Party criminal is precisely to manifest such contempt, and that, and not a desire to exercise censorship concerning matters a member may or may not read, is the basic reason for the instructions to Sections and members contained in the N.E.C. resolution."

As we know, the disrupters (through the underhanded work of N. Mijanovich while WEEKLY PEOPLE mailing clerk, aided by the spy "planted" in the National Office) secured the addresses of members and WEEKLY PEOPLE readers throughout the country to whom they have sent their lampoons. They have not confined their lampooning to members. Manifesting a degree of stupidity and criminal intent, they have also sent them to non-members, even to some who are in complete ignorance of the S.L.P., who scarcely knew of its existence. One such case has been reported by Comrade E. A. Swiatek, organizer of Section Erie Co., N.Y. In a letter recently received by the National Secretary, he writes that these depraved enemies of the S.L.P. had sent lampoons to a distant relative of his bearing his name, a person who is bitterly opposed to Socialism, and who naturally was delighted to receive these lampoons, since they were, to his uninformed and prejudiced mind, ammunition that he welcomed as "proof" of his contentions against Socialism. He forwarded the lampoons to Comrade Swiatek in a spirit of gloating satisfaction. Obviously the disruptive scoundrels had seen his name in the WEEKLY PEOPLE, but lacking his address they looked it up in the telephone directory, stupidly picking the wrong Swiatek.

Comrade Swiatek did not care to degrade himself by replying or

writing to the disrupters; on the other hand, he did not relish the idea of having the lampoons presented to this anti-Socialist relative of his, and, thinking that by writing them they might cease sending the lampoons to a total stranger (a vain hope, probably, since it is only logical that common enemies of Socialism should work together against the S.L.P.), he asked the National Secretary if he should write the disrupters and call attention to their "mistake." The National Secretary replied to Comrade Swiatek, advising him to make an exception in this case, however fruitless it seemed to expect degenerates to exercise common sense, or even a modicum of elementary decency. Accordingly, Comrade Swiatek wrote the following letter to the disrupters, addressing it to the wretch who apparently functions as the chief distributor of their evil-smelling garbage:

"Sir:

"Through a stupid error on the part of your disruptive clique, a relative of mine who has the same first and last name as I has been receiving your scurrilous lampoons. This person is hostile to Socialism, and, after carefully reading over this obscene stuff, has forwarded same to me with glee. This is to tell you that if you do not cease sending these letters to me or my family, I shall ask the post office to take action under the law that forbids using the mails for the transmission of obscene, scurrilous or defamatory writings. This is my first, last and only warning to you. I will not be further befouled by your vile writings, nor will I degrade myself further by writing you again.

"I trust this is clear.

"With contempt,
"E. A. Swiatek."

Whatever effect this letter may have on the corrupted minds of the slummist anti-S.L.P. plotters, it should be emphasized again that no self-respecting S.L.P. man should consider it proper to take any notice whatever of the obscene stuff which unwillingly they receive from the Party criminals, whose sole purpose it is to wreak vengeance on the Party that dealt proper justice to them by placing them where they now are and will remain: on the outside, in the camp of the enemy, aiding that enemy, who is eager to use them, however puny their efforts are, and however he may view them with that contempt which even the decent foe bestows on renegades and traitors. And it might be added that if they continue to send their unwanted filth through the mail (and unsealed at that), steps will be taken to deal with them under the law which so brazenly they are violating.

Another somewhat similar case was reported by a Missouri comrade, who wrote the National Office that his landlady (to whom the S.L.P. meant, and could mean nothing) had received a lampoon addressed to her! A California comrade wrote to the National Secretary on January 26, 1948, as follows:

"The other day a staunch Party sympathizer, Mr. E., handed me a lampoon mailed from New York around the first of January, the missive being material from the disrupter Florence Hyman. The letter had been sent—not to Mr. E.—but to his son, who, to my knowledge, has never shown any interest in the Party. The best solution I can offer to the why is that the [disrupters'] 'mailing list committee' scans the contributors' column in the WEEKLY PEOPLE, and then proceeds to look up names in the telephone directories. Of course, the matter has been deposited in the customary receptacle."

Naturally, the question has been asked whether it is possible that someone at National Headquarters may be acting as a spy or informant for the disrupters. By a process of elimination the conclusion seems to be that this is hardly likely. Yet only "seems." We knew of the one unmasked as a spy, the non-member pal of the Willses, Mijanoviches, *and others*, namely, the Friedman woman. This creature, however, was summarily discharged on February 21, 1947. On April 5, 1947, Comrade Arthur J. Taylor of Section New York wrote the National Secretary, enclosing the lampoon issued by the Loewenthal woman prior to her expulsion. Comrade Taylor called attention to a reference in the lampoon to the effect that "this morning [March 25, 1947] someone from the National Office" phoned her to tell her about the printed document (dated March 13, 1947) mailed out from the National Office, in which the membership was first generally informed of the conspiracy against the Party. This document had only just been printed, and only someone at National Headquarters could have secured a copy in time to enable the disrupter to refer to it in her March 25 lampoon. That that someone (if he or she existed) was a pal of the Wills-Mijanovich-Friedman Greenwich Village clique goes without saying. The question we had to ask ourselves was: "Who was it?" Some members close to National Headquarters think they have the answer. At any rate, there can be no doubt that some day we shall know for certain who the treacherous creature was—and perhaps *is*. And if or when we catch the wretch redhanded, *it will go hard with him or her*. That much we can promise. Stealing mailing lists, or aiding in purloining them, is a prison offense. There is, of course, the possibility that the Loewenthal woman merely wanted to throw suspicion on someone who until recently had moved in her disruptive circle, and who may have disowned her and her fellow disrupters. The context of her lampoon suggests that possibility. Or she may have aimed at getting the National Secretary off on a "witch hunt" with the view of causing a further crippling of the National Headquarters staff. If this was the object, needless to say it failed miserably.

Be all this as it may, it is obvious that the villainous acts of the conspirator will prove self-destructive. Disrupters and traitors invariably underestimate the common sense, intelligence and decency of those on whom they seek to impose.

As mentioned before, disrupters and conspirators of earlier vintages

have crawled out of their dark holes, seeking connections with the current crop of conspirators, who, of course, are only too anxious to receive them and give them shelter much like the crawling things under a flat rock seek new shelter when the rock is turned over. One of the most notorious conspirators and S.L.P. renegades (despite temporary success in imposing on loyal S.L.P. members) is the wretch who was expelled from the Party more than twenty-five years ago, the sinister A. S. Carm of Chicago. Recently the organizer of Section Cook County, Comrade Edward Gross, sent to the National Office a copy of a flyer got out by something calling itself the "Industrial Union Government Party." The speakers announced were A.S. Carm and one of the recently expelled Cook County disrupters, one S. Misic, the two presumably constituting the aforesaid "party." Conspirator Carm signs the sheet "Organization Committee"! The copy of the flyer gives no date of the would-be meeting, but such an omission is, of course, a mere bagatelle. The 'audience,' that is, the two alleged speakers, knew it, or could tell each other about it!

Some time last August, the same traitor to De Leonism had written a letter to one of those expelled in the Washington disruption of 1944. Like vultures scenting carrion, these evil disrupter birds promptly scent disruption "carrion," and seek it out. In his note to the Washington disrupter, this vulture announces that "About 50 expelled members here in the middle west are planning to form a new party, minus the Petersonian [sic] barnacles [!!]." Since the total number of disrupters expelled, east and west, was less than 50, it is obvious that the garbage can has been scraped to the very bottom—as witness Carm himself. In view of the ability of this sinister character to ingratiate himself with unsuspecting members after each disruptive outbreak, it seems desirable to place on record again the doings of this low-grade tool of capitalist interests, despite the distasteful task of handling disruptive garbage. This may be done most conveniently, perhaps, by reproducing here a letter written by the National Secretary to Comrade Theodore Bossie, of Seattle, on September 16, 1947. Excerpts from the letter follow:

"Dear Comrade Bossie:

"I enclose copies of some documents sent me the other day by an expelled Spokane disrupter. Why he sent this stuff to me is not easily explained.

"You will note that the notorious A. S. Carm (expelled some 25 years ago) is working with the recent 'crop' of conspirators and disrupters. The bottom of the garbage can is surely being scraped—and how it smells! We knew, of course, that the infamous Carm had a finger in the conspiracy, but it will probably turn out that he was one of the outside 'brains' (save the mark!) who directed the kids and the simpletons who were so happy playing 'underground' conspirators for a while. In due time we shall no doubt discover the identity of the other 'behind-the-scenes' conspirators—and they will no doubt include crooks, thieves, agents

provocateurs, and similar agents and instruments of capitalist interests, kicked out of the Party since 1918, or perhaps even earlier.

"This seems as good an opportunity as any to review briefly the history of the notorious S.L.P. enemy, A. S. Carm. My first encounter with Carm was 'way back in 1910, 1911 or 1912. He was in New York City at the time, my impression being that he was toured by the Scandinavian Socialist Labor Federation. However, I may be wrong about that. At any rate, he was scheduled to speak in Brooklyn (in some Swedish temperance society hall), and, as a result of his grossly offensive behavior toward the audience, provoked a riot, in which chairs were used as clubs, Carm himself leading in the fray.

"When De Leon heard of this he was furious, and I was told that he had thundered at Carm, and laid down the law to him. In 1913, Carm ran for the office of National Secretary of the Party against the undersigned. (I think there was a third candidate, but I am not sure.) When the then National Secretary, Paul Augustine, tendered his resignation, and a call was sent out for nominations, Carm promptly got himself nominated. De Leon was alarmed. This was in the spring and summer of 1913. During this period I was approached to accept the nomination. I declined, having no illusions about my qualifications for that important office, and having made other plans. In June of that year, I went to Denmark, returning to the United States in September. I was then again approached to accept the nomination. I refused again, repeatedly. Finally, in October or November, 1913, I received a message that De Leon would like to see me at his office. I went down to 45 Rose Street (where the Party had just moved from 28 City Hall Place), and was closeted with De Leon for an hour or two. Among other things De Leon expressed the opinion that it was my duty to accept, since the alternative would be that Carm would be elected, and that, De Leon said to me, would be a catastrophe for the Party. Confronted with this, and De Leon's declaration that it was my duty to accept, I finally yielded and, as you know, I was elected, taking office early in 1914. Carm, as I recall it, received a couple of hundred votes. He was far better known to the members than I was, and when I say 'known' I mean KNOWN! I was told later that Carm was furious, and no doubt I had become, *ipso facto*, his mortal enemy!

"Subsequently Carm became quite active in what was first called the 'Detroit I.W.W.' (as distinguished from the Anarcho-Syndicalist Chicago 'I.W.W.,' or the 'bummery'). By 1921 the name of the Detroit I.W.W. had changed to the 'Workers International Industrial Union' ('W. I.I.U.'), and in that year the S.L.P. decided to send two 'observers' to the 'Third International' Congress convening at Moscow. Comrades John D. Goerke of Cleveland and S. Smiley of New York were elected by the N.E.C. as 'observers.' Carm succeeded in convincing the national office of the 'W.I.I.U.' that it, too, should send an 'observer,' and that he should be it. He went, though he did not travel with Comrades Goerke

and Smiley. Our comrades were treated with courtesy by the Russians (Lenin was still around, and Stalin and his gang were still playing a waiting game—and unimportant roles). On the other hand, Carm was treated with contempt, primarily because the Russians believed that he had supplied the prosecution against Haywood (and other Chicago I.W.W.ites) with evidence to help convict them. (Subsequently, Haywood, out on bail, jumped his bail and fled to Moscow where he later died, and where he now lies buried.) The evidence against Carm was circumstantial, but many insisted that they had seen him hand pamphlets and papers to the prosecuting attorney. Personally I have always thought it in character for Carm to do just that.

"At any rate, Carm was treated as an enemy. Fool that he was and is, he did everything possible to provoke Haywood and his gang at the Moscow congress [so reported by Comrades Goerke and Smiley], and, to make a long story short, he was finally locked up in a Moscow jail. If memory serves me right, he was released chiefly because of his membership in the S.L.P., and partly through the intervention of Boris Reinstein, who apparently had access to Lenin's ear. Unchastened, Carm returned to the United States, and promptly made attempts to capitalize on his 'Moscow martyrdom.' That part of the story is told in the 1924 S.L.P. convention proceedings (page 27), and I include it here:

" 'During 1921 and 1922 the Party experienced some trouble with A. S. Carm of Chicago, Ill. Carm, as will be recalled, had been sent to Russia by the W.I.I.U., representing that organization at the Economic Congress or Convention in the summer of 1921. Upon his return he made certain claims on the Party which, in effect, amounted to an attempt at exploiting the Party financially. The N.E.C. Sub-Committee, upon being informed that Mrs. Carm was in rather dire circumstances, and learning that the W.I.I.U. was unable to pay her any money during Carm's absence, donated to the W.I.I.U. $200 to be paid to Mrs. Carm. The Sub-Committee also held out prospects of another $100 to be paid to the W.I.I.U., with the understanding that this additional amount was likewise to be paid Carm, not because of any services which he had rendered the Party (far otherwise and to the contrary), but because of the fact that the W.I.I.U. was under obligations to this individual and unable at the time to discharge these obligations. Upon his return to Chicago he commenced a campaign of vilification against the Party's officials, making public attacks and otherwise carrying on a propaganda designed to undermine the morale of the membership and their confidence in the national officers and the N.E.C. Sub-Committee. He was first suspended and later expelled by Section Cook County. Since his expulsion he has been carrying on an insidious campaign against the Party chiefly through his membership in the W.I.I.U. Evidence has been submitted that he has corresponded with Party members throughout different parts of the country, lying and misrepresenting facts in connection with Party affairs and his expulsion from the Party. He has attempted the same

disruptive propaganda through the Scandinavian Federation. In this latter respect, however, he appears to have been anything but successful.'

"From the account in the convention proceedings you will note that he set the pattern subsequently followed by the wretched Nada Mijanovich and associates in disruption. There can be no doubt now that he was one of her 'advisers.' Note particularly this passage: 'He has been carrying on an insidious campaign against the Party . . . he has corresponded with Party members throughout different parts of the country, lying and misrepresenting facts in connection with Party affairs and his expulsion from the Party.' Old, familiar stuff!

"Since then he has on various occasions attempted to get back into the Party, without success, of course. I have no doubt that he blames me for his failure in this respect. A few years ago he was given a sort of quasi-status as 'sympathizer,' allowed to help in gathering signatures, etc. As we *now* know, that was a mistake. Once a Carm, always a Carm . . .

"I have taken the trouble to recite these facts in detail because I feel that it was desirable to place on record, compactly, the anti-Socialist activities of . . . A. S. Carm. And because this incident proves again the fact of a deeply plotted conspiracy against the Party, participated in, and no doubt directed by, the worst enemies of the Party and of the American working class."

In one of the Sue stories there is a sinister character referred to as "the man with the furred cap." His mission as an enemy agent (posing as a friend) was to sow discord among the rebels against oppression. He did so by buttonholing unsuspecting or credulous followers of the rebel leaders, and pouring poison into their ears. He succeeded only too well, though in the end the villain got his deserts. The Chicago "man with the furred cap" need have no illusions on the score of succeeding in his nefarious work. He is too crude, too obvious. Nevertheless, it may save some trouble by identifying in this report the character for what he is.

The "news" that a "new party" will be launched is mildly amusing, but of slight interest. There is nothing "new" in the attempt, and the "party" bears the same resemblance to a real party that a gnat bears to a lion. In past disruptions similar "new parties" emerged, enjoyed their ephemeral gnat hour, and passed from sight. A printed document dated June 29, 1941, tells the sad, sad story of the passing of something that called itself the "Socialist Union Party." This was the successor of something else that had called itself the "Industrial Union Party," which was the successor of something else again that once called itself the "Industrial Union League," and so forth *ad infinitum*—all of them by-products of the 1927 disruption. And now these current fools and traitors are trying the same old, stupid game, hoping to catch suckers where their kind so obviously and ignominiously failed. As De Leon sometimes said, "the credulity of the human species is incredible."

Nothing more need be said on the disruptive episode, except to note

the fact that a total of 48 conspirators and their simple-minded supporters were expelled since its inception. Since the last N.E.C. session 27 individuals were expelled, of whom twenty-four were involved in the conspiracy against the Party. Apart from the pains and the financial cost, the house-cleaning has done the Party a world of good.

NATIONAL CONVENTION AND NATIONAL CAMPAIGN 1948

All preparations for the national convention have been made, or are in process of being completed. A banquet has been arranged, at which it is hoped a large collection will be taken up. At this writing (about ten days before the convention) the indications, unhappily, are that we shall not reach the preliminary goal of $75,000, the goal for the total National Campaign Fund ordered by the N.E.C. having been set at $200,000. As of the present writing a total of nearly $24,000 has been collected, considerably below the total of 1944 at about the same time, when the preliminary goal was set at $50,000. The last few weeks witnessed a sharp increase in contributions, due largely to the letter mailed to every individual member of the Party. At the present rate it would seem that we may consider ourselves lucky if we reach $50,000 by the time the banquet is "adjourned." Our fervent hope is that these misgivings will be put to shame when the total of the banquet-collection is announced Saturday night, the first of May.

Our chief and primary problem is, of course, to get on the ballot in as many states as possible, and certainly not fewer than in 1944. But the obstacles this year are formidable, in some cases apparently beyond our capacity to overcome — at least, so it seems at this time of writing. The effort will be made in the following states (in some we are already assured a place on the ballot), and where efforts fail, write-in-vote campaigns will be conducted.

California. In this state it is physically impossible to comply with the provisions of the election law. Nearly 300,000 signatures would be required to get on the ballot, and these would even have to be filed not later than March 18. It is expected our comrades will nominate candidates and carry on a write-in-vote campaign, as was done in 1944, when the relatively large number of 327 votes was *credited* to the Party. We say *credited*, for no one will ever know how many more were actually cast for our candidates. We may be sure the number was in excess of the number placed to our credit.

Colorado. In this state 500 signatures must be gathered, and this must be done by notaries. Section Denver is preparing itself for the task, and, barring the unexpected, we shall undoubtedly be on the ballot in Colorado.

Connecticut. In this state 8,320 signatures must be gathered by September 1, which means at least 10,000. It has been necessary for years to assist the Connecticut comrades in securing this high number, and this year will prove no exception. It is to be hoped that such assistance will be available. Without it, it is quite certain that we shall fail in Connecticut.

Illinois. In Illinois we are confronted with a tremendous problem. A minimum of 25,000 signatures must be gathered, with at least 200 from each of 50 counties. The recent state convention, of course, decided to make the effort, but considerable help will be required. However, we made it in 1944. We can hardly be satisfied with doing less in this historic campaign.

Indiana. Here, too, we are confronted with a difficult task, the minimum of 6,641 signatures being required. With well-directed efforts, and the closest cooperation between the Sections, the S.E.C. and the National Office, there should be no question about attaining the goal.

Iowa. It is relatively easy to get on the ballot in this state, and there is no reason to anticipate any serious difficulties. No petitions need be circulated, certification by nominating convention being sufficient to qualify on the ballot.

Kentucky. Here we have quite a problem to solve, considering the absence of an organized Section. Heretofore only 1,000 signatures were required, and in 1944 we got on the ballot. We are informed, however, that there have been changes in the election laws, but thus far we have not been able to ascertain their nature, nor do we know if the changes will affect us adversely. If the number of signatures required remains unchanged, or substantially the same, we shall no doubt succeed with the assistance of Comrade Gordon Long and neighboring members.

Maine. We must secure 1,000 signatures in this state, and, if our 1944 luck holds, and with extra hard work, we shall probably appear on the Maine ballot in 1948.

Maryland. Normally we should have little difficulty in getting on the ballot in Maryland, and in former years we appeared regularly on the ballot. But a vicious provision in the election laws renders it impossible. Only 2,000 signatures are required (to be filed by April 1), but under the law the Secretary of State must publish these names in a newspaper of general statewide circulation. This provision obviously was added to the election laws in order to intimidate prospective signers. It may be reasonably assumed that at least ten times 2,000 prospective signers would have to be approached in order to discover 2,000 who were courageous or indifferent enough not to care about being "pilloried" in the newspapers. The avowed fascists could have learned a lot of tricks from the "noble democrats" in this country in the matter of devising methods for denying the people the vote!

Massachusetts. In this state we have experienced little difficulty in the past. Our ticket is placed on the ballot by the holding of a nominating convention and two caucuses.

Michigan. In this state our comrades have already achieved the tremendous task of collecting more than 10,000 signatures, ensuring our being on the ballot, barring the wholly unforeseen. The petitions are (were) filed the last week in April. Working in zero weather, the task in this state is one to try the stoutest hearts. But such are the hearts of our S.L.P. Michiganites!

Minnesota. We must secure 2,000 signatures in this state. With the necessary help the task seems to be quite within our ability to achieve. A rela-

tively large vote was cast for our ticket in 1944, and we cannot think in terms of failing this year.

Missouri. This state has given us no problems in the past and there is no apparent reason for our not securing a place on the ballot there for the November election. No petitions need be circulated.

New Jersey. Here the task has been accomplished, and the Party's ticket is assured on the ballot in this state. We did come close to failure, because the politicians, unknown to us until the last minute, had advanced the date for filing, giving us little more than two weeks after the convention to gather the 1,800 signatures (800 required).

New York. The problems in New York are very great. The number of signatures required (12,000) presents no serious problem in itself. But a minimum of 50 must be gathered in each of 61 counties, and the tedious and exacting clerical work required before filing presents considerable difficulties. Our past experiences in New York have been such that we can expect to meet formidable obstacles in placing our ticket on the ballot. If successful, we shall probably have to appear as "Industrial Government Party."

Ohio. In the state of Ohio the situation appears to be hopeless, as far as getting the Party's ticket on the ballot this year. Infuriated, no doubt, by the battle we gave the politicians in 1946, and goaded, we may assume, by the humiliating defeat they suffered, the capitalist watchdogs got to work to prevent the S.L.P. from succeeding in 1948. Here, briefly, is the situation, and the reasons for the practically impossible task of complying with the new election law provisions:

New amendments to the Ohio election law became effective January 2, 1948, and a subsequent court decision relating thereto renders it doubtful, as stated, that we shall be able even to make an attempt to get on the ballot this year. Before the amendments became effective, we could get on the ballot with state and national tickets by gathering signatures equal in number to 1% of the total vote cast for governor at the preceding election. The number of signatures varied from 20,000 to 30,000. The task of gathering these signatures was always a tremendous one, because it was necessary to secure a number far in excess of the minimum needed, in order to offset the possibility of large numbers of signatures being declared invalid, etc. In fact, though we gathered signatures for every election, 1946 was the first year in which we obtained a place on the ballot in Ohio since 1932. And in order to qualify in 1946, an action had to be filed in the Ohio Supreme Court to compel a recheck of large blocks of signatures which had been declared invalid, the action involving a heavy expenditure of funds and energy.

As said, no doubt because of our success in winning a place on the ballot in 1946, the Ohio legislature passed amendments which now make it impossible for any but the Republican and Democratic parties to place Presidential candidates on the ballot, and which also make it impossible for any but those two parties to place state candidates on the ballot under party designations; all candidates nominated under the 1% provision being lumped together under the designation "Independent." The only way to get around

these amendments is to gather signatures equal to 15% of the total vote cast for governor at the last preceding election, a mere 350,000 or thereabouts.

The constitutionality of these amendments is being contested in the courts by the Prohibition Party. So far the Court of Appeals has upheld the election law, stating that the "15% provision is a fair one." The matter has been appealed to the Ohio Supreme Court, and at this writing no decision has been handed down. Unless the Court of Appeals is reversed, it is manifestly impossible to comply with the Ohio election laws, and we, along with thousands of Ohio voters, will be disfranchised. (Our candidate for governor in Ohio received more than 11,000 votes in 1946.)

Oregon. In Oregon, where formerly we managed to collect the large number of signatures required, we shall have to conduct a write-in-vote campaign. With our present membership, the task of gathering approximately 17,000 signatures is an impossible one.

Pennsylvania. The nearly 8,000 signatures needed to get on the ballot in Pennsylvania, plus, have been gathered, filed, and we are assured of a place on the ballot in this important industrial state. Unfortunately we failed to "get there" first, with the result that we must appear on the ballot as the Industrial Government Party. The bogus "Socialist Party" is again preempting the word *Socialist,* thus once more carrying on in the state as that "huge machine for lying about Socialism" it has always proved itself to be.

Virginia. In this state the ballot requirements have been severely increased. Formerly it was the easiest and simplest thing to get on the ballot in "the old dominion." Now 1,000 signatures are required, but with extra help we hope to succeed this year also.

Washington. To get on the ballot in this state a convention must be held, attended by 25 delegates. There is no reason to question our being on the ballot in Washington this year.

Wisconsin. 1,000 signatures for Presidential electors, and 5,000 for state candidates, are required. We have succeeded in getting these in the past and expect to do so again. Our Wisconsin comrades may be expected to ensure our being on the ballot in this historic year.

Rhode Island. The possibilities of getting on the ballot in this state are somewhat remote, at least at this writing. The possibilities, however, will be fully explored.

There are a number of states where the requirements to get on the ballot are few and easy, but unfortunately we have few or no members and in some of them not even known sympathizers, though we have WEEKLY PEOPLE readers. These states (where we did not appear on the ballot in the past) include Arizona, Delaware, New Hampshire, Vermont and Wyoming. In one of these states (Arizona) we have quite a few national members-at-large with whose aid we shall make the effort, though success is by no means assured. Preliminary to any successful effort to get on the ballot in a state there must, of course, have been a dissemination of S.L.P. principles, primarily through circulation of the WEEKLY PEOPLE, and a sufficiently large number of regular subscribers. A special sub-getter, whose sole task it would

be to secure subscriptions, would be required to break the ground in such states. Thirty and more years ago we did have such a sub-getter, who traveled from state to state and secured many subscriptions, but obviously such qualified members, who at the same time are available, are scarce. The increased use of the radio has, of course, opened up possibilities for reaching into such "virgin fields," and for the present we must place our hopes for results in such fields on the radio.

The following are some plans, and suggested outlines, for carrying on an effective campaign — a campaign so important that no effort to utilize it to the fullest extent in the Party's interests must be spared. Most of these plans or suggestions present no novelties, and most of them are outlined in greater detail in the National Office leaflet entitled "General Instructions Re Preparation for Visiting Organizers, Etc.," and are mentioned here chiefly as reminders:

The Radio. The radio must obviously play a very large part in our campaign. And in this connection it seems safe to say that considerably more free time would be available to us if our members and Subdivisions kept alert in order to obtain the fullest measure of free time. The success of some Sections in obtaining free time in order to present the S.L.P. position on "controversial subjects," even when there has been no campaign, justifies the belief that a considerable amount of free time might be obtained during the campaign. It is suggested to the Subdivisions that one member (or a committee) might be appointed to listen to all political broadcasts, in an attempt to determine if the time has been given free, or paid for. In either case, it would be the basis for our obtaining equal time, free or otherwise, as the case might be.

The extent to which national hookups will be available, either free or on a paid basis, is not, of course, known at this time. From our recent experience, however, it is hoped that we shall be able to secure at least as many of such broadcasts as in the past, if not more.

Public Meetings. The tours of our Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates will naturally offer great opportunities for both indoor and outdoor meetings. But in addition to these, state candidates should be toured as much as possible, and local indoor and outdoor meetings should be held in the greatest possible number. To the extent National Organizers are available, these will, of course, be toured where most needed, or where best results may be obtained.

Leaflet Distribution. As already emphasized in this report, the importance of leaflet distribution is just as great as ever, if not greater than ever before. Every member and Subdivision should make it a regular order of business to distribute campaign leaflets in the greatest possible number. Regular, careful check-ups should be made to see to it that no leaflets are "forgotten," or left to gather dust and rot in cellars or garages, as unhappily has happened in some places in the past.

WEEKLY PEOPLE subscriptions. The campaign should be used to add a large number of readers to our WEEKLY PEOPLE list. In the heat of the

campaign the importance of seeing to it that as many workers as possible receive our official organ weekly might be overlooked. We must lose no opportunity to sell subs and to advertise and publicize our paper. The same, of course, applies to sale of pamphlets, but during the campaign the emphasis should be on getting subscriptions.

Publicity. It is hoped that the National Office will be able to supply Sections and members with publicity releases in advance of visits by the candidates. These will include pre-visit press releases and post-visit releases. It is also suggested that full instructions on methods of taking advantage of local conditions, etc., will be made available for publicity purposes. Matrices and electros of the candidates will, of course, also be made available.

In addition to the regular type of press releases, letters to the press should be used as much as possible. The success of certain of our members and Subdivisions in this respect inescapably leads to the conclusion that it could be used even more widely with correspondingly greater success.

Publicity on a national scale will be given careful consideration, with possible regular releases to leading newspapers, the press services, radio news services, etc., whenever time and opportunity present themselves.

Advertising. The possibility of the National Office's preparing and making available to the Subdivisions and membership fliers and advertisements is being looked into. The fliers might be printed and supplied to the Sections at a price low enough to permit them to imprint local information, such as time, date and place of the meeting or broadcast being advertised. In this way, effective and attractive fliers might be provided, with cuts and artwork, etc.

Time and facilities permitting, matrices and electros of various size ads for newspapers might also be made available to the members and Sections by the National Office. In this way attractive ads might possibly be provided (with space for filling in local information, etc.).

An effort will also be made to supply outlines of car signs, window cards, and other advertising methods, for Sections and members, possibly with layouts supplied, and perhaps also printed or silk-screened cards and signs.

If the National Headquarters help problem is reduced, or relieved to an appreciable extent, we hope to carry through the above plans. But it is a big "if." In the person of Comrade Louis D. Cohen the National Secretary has secured an able assistant, who has proved himself qualified to take on some of the load of practical and detailed work hitherto carried largely by the National Secretary, apart from the valuable and indispensable services rendered by Comrade Sophie Blume, who for so many years has been, and continues to be, the "right hand 'man'" of the National Secretary. To Comrade Cohen will be assigned much of the actual campaign work, fulfilling the functions of a campaign manager, to the extent that such a one is required in the S.L.P. At present one of the main problems is, as stated before, to secure the necessary clerical help, particularly one or perhaps two competent stenographers who may be found willing and sufficiently unprejudiced to work under the conditions that are inescapable at the National Headquarters

of the Socialist Labor Party. And, of course, there is the bookkeeper problem, which so far has proved unsolvable, except by makeshift arrangements. With a bit of luck in these respects, with the National Headquarters staff straining itself to the utmost, and with the wholehearted and loyal cooperation of the entire membership, we cannot doubt, we dare not doubt, that we shall emerge from this great campaign with credit to ourselves and to the great tradition of the fighting S.L.P., strengthened organizationally, and reinvigorated in spirit, carrying to successful completion the task so nobly begun, but perforce left unfinished, by the great founders and pioneers of Marxian Socialism.

MISCELLANEOUS

I. *The Lease.* As already mentioned, a new lease was signed with the owners of our present premises for a period of five years. The doubling, or nearly so, of the annual rental, will impose upon us a new, heavy financial burden. There was no choice presented to us. During four months the National Secretary carried on a stiff "battle" with the agents of the landlord. Under the rent regulations the landlord was entitled to an increase of only 15%, *unless* he could prove that the returns on his investment were not up to the minimum allowed under the law. The landlord's agent claimed they could present figures to prove that their returns were far from reaching that minimum, and invited the National Secretary to come to their office to examine their prepared figures. Realizing that these figures were meaningless unless checked by an expert against the books and records from which they were derived, the National Secretary inquired of Mr. Citrin, one of the members of the firm of certified public accountants that have audited the Party's books and records for more than thirty years, whether he would contact the landlord's agent and, as a representative of the Party, request permission to examine the figures and records on the basis of which the landlord claimed to be entitled to a nearly 100% increase in rent. After considerable delay and stalling, the landlord's agent finally arranged to have Mr. Citrin inspect the figures. It seemed quite obvious that the landlord did not like to deal with an expert accountant. Mr. Citrin went and saw — but he did not see much. When he asked to be shown the landlord's records, etc., the agent got on his "high horse," to use Mr. Citrin's expression: Did we doubt his word? Did we think he was not telling the truth? — winding up with the explosive statement: We may as well call the whole thing off right now! Mr. Citrin then asked for permission to check the prepared figures with the landlord's certified accountant, a request that met with the same indignant refusal. Our accountant recommended, thereupon, that we sign the lease on the terms offered on the ground that it would be difficult to prove in court that the prepared figures did not represent the true picture, and because the rent we were asked to pay was comparable to the rent generally charged for such premises as we occupied. This latter claim, at least, was true, and since this would no doubt have proved determining in court, we felt, as stated, that we had no practical choice in the matter. Besides, to take the landlord into court might have meant a long and certainly costly

legal fight, with the issue gravely in doubt. To engage in such a legal battle in a national campaign year, with the possibility that we might even have to move at the height of the campaign, was unthinkable. And so, reluctantly, we yielded, signing the lease on the landlord's terms about a month ago. The present lease will expire April 30, 1953, when we may be in a better position to deal with the problem on terms of greater equality, or with more independence than we can now command. At any rate, the problem will then not have to be faced in a national campaign year, which fact will provide more freedom of action than we can now exercise.

II. *The Irving Stone libels on De Leon.* As you all know, the slanderous gossip-monger, Irving Stone, wrote a book, purporting to be an account of Eugene V. Debs's private and public life. In his book Stone went out of his way shamelessly to distort De Leon's work, and villainously to libel De Leon and, by implication, the Socialist Labor Party. The letter written by the National Secretary to Stone, proving him a falsifier and libeler of De Leon, was published in the WEEKLY PEOPLE of December 13, 1947. Needless to say, no reply was ever received from the gentleman. Several newspapers, and at least one radio station, echoed Stone's libels, and to all such that came to our notice letters of protest and correction were sent. In one case (the Minneapolis *Sunday Tribune*) we succeeded in having acknowledgment of error and correction made. In the case of the New York *Times* reviewer we encountered stubborn resistance, and a shameful refusal to retract the false and libelous statement made in the review of Stone's book, which appeared in the paper's issue of September 26, 1947. The National Secretary had considerable correspondence with the reviewer, one Orville Prescott, who earlier had printed a brief acknowledgment of protests received from S.L.P. members. The gentleman had argued that Mr. Stone, and not he, was to blame for the libelous reference he had made in his review, a patent falsehood. Finally Mr. Prescott's boss, Managing Editor Edwin L. James, took over. In a letter written to the National Secretary, Mr. James claimed his underling was justified in making the statement he did, indicating, however, a willingness to argue the matter. The last reply written to Mr. James by the National Secretary (April 7, 1948) may prove interesting, but in any case, as a summary of our contentions, and for the record, it is herewith reproduced:

"April 7, 1948.

"Mr. Edwin L. James,
"Managing Editor,
"The New York Times,
"New York, N. Y.
"Dear Sir:

"Receipt is acknowledged of your letter of March 24. You feel, you tell me, 'that Mr. Prescott was quite justified in what he wrote [in his review, anent De Leon],' and you suggest that I would agree with you if I were to read 'pages 278 and 281 of the [Stone] book.' Are you quite serious? Did you realize what you wrote in the letter you signed — if you wrote it your-

self? If you intended to be humorous, may I suggest that the humor is ill-timed and ill-advised?

"Your reference to 'pages 278 *and* 281' makes no sense. You probably meant to say 'pages 278 *through* 281,' since *all* these pages (and others in the same section) constitute the main part of the Stone book in which De Leon was libeled, and which libels Mr. Prescott repeated, in summary, in his review. There is nothing about pages 278 and 281 that makes them essentially different from pages 276, 277, 279 and 280. They are all a tissue of falsifications and libels as regards Daniel De Leon.

"But what is the point in citing these pages in Stone's book? I am not holding Mr. Prescott responsible for the libels of Mr. Stone. *I am solely concerned with Mr. Prescott's libeling of De Leon and the Socialist Labor Party in his review.* Please take sufficient time out to allow this simple fact to penetrate through to your consciousness — for I do not believe you have given any personal thought to this matter at all. Had you done so in the first place, I am sure you could not have approved the amazing and discourteous letter you signed.

"Let me repeat: Mr. Prescott was not quoting Stone when he libeled De Leon and the Socialist Labor Party. He was not even paraphrasing Stone. He was offering, gratuitously, his own opinions about Debs, De Leon, the Socialist Labor Party, etc. His libelous statement — 'Debs' abhorrence of violence could no more approve of war THAN IT COULD OF THE VIOLENCE PREACHED BY THE DE LEON VARIETY OF SOCIALISTS . . .'— that criminally false statement is Mr. Prescott's own. Nowhere in his book does Stone mention anything about 'the violence preached by the DE LEON VARIETY OF SOCIALISTS.' He does, libelously, portray De Leon himself as preaching violence. But I repeat, we are not holding Mr. Prescott responsible for what Stone wrote. We shall settle directly with Mr. Stone our quarrel with him.

"Sneeringly, it seems to me, you remind me that 'Mr. Prescott was reviewing Stone's book and not writing an article about De Leon.' The reminder is quite superfluous. Had Mr. Prescott stuck to his job as a reviewer, we should probably have had no quarrel with him — hardly on the score of libeling De Leon and the Socialist Labor Party. But he did *not* stick to his job — he went out of his way to express his own views about Debs, De Leon and the Socialist Labor Party. In view of Mr. Prescott's clear language, the context in which his words are set, it is an affront to one's intelligence to argue that he did not do so.

"I repeat what I said in my letter to you of March 15:

" 'Mr. Prescott implies that he does not know the truth in the matter. As to that I might observe that he has no excuse for not knowing it, if he considers himself a responsible writer. But allow me to remind you and Mr. Prescott that ignorance of the true facts confers no immunity on the purveyor of slanders and libels.'

"In short, *he who purveys or repeats a libel is as guilty of libel as is the originator thereof.* If you entertain any doubt as to the legal validity of this

point, I would advise you to consult your attorney. I cannot doubt that *he* is quite familiar with the very specific and rather inclusive libel laws of New York State.

"For the last time, I demand that Mr. Prescott make honorable amends in accordance with the last paragraph on page 3 of my March 15 letter to you. Failing in this, the matter will be turned over to our attorney for suitable action under the law.

"Yours truly,
[signed] "Arnold Petersen,
"National Secretary."

Lack of time has prevented our following the matter up further, but the last word has not yet been said. It is significant, and a fascinating circumstance, that it was De Leon himself, so to speak, who called our attention to the fact that the Prescott libel was fully covered under the libel laws of New York State, a fact, however, of which our own attorney acknowledged himself unaware, as did the attorney for Stone's publishers, Doubleday & Co. In his "Ultramontanism" (soon to be reissued under the title "The Vatican in Politics," etc.) De Leon quotes the New York libel law as follows:

> "Section 1,340 — Libel defined. A malicious publication by writing, printing, picture, effigy, sign or otherwise than by mere speech which exposes any living person, *or the memory of any person deceased*, to hatred, contempt, ridicule or obloquy, or which causes, or tends to cause, any person to be shunned or avoided, or which has a tendency to injure any person, corporation or *association of persons*, in his or their business or occupation, is a libel."

Note the phrases, "the memory of any person deceased," and "association of persons." The "memory" of the deceased Daniel De Leon was undeniably exposed to "hatred, contempt, ridicule," etc., in Stone's book, and the Socialist Labor Party is obviously an "association of persons" which as such was libeled by the *Times* reviewer when he referred to "the violence preached by the De Leon variety of Socialists . . ."

The question involved as regards taking legal action against the libelers is solely a practical one. Certain recommendations made by the Party's attorney will be given careful attention by the N.E.C. Sub-Committee in due time.

The case of the offending radio station (WUOM, Minneapolis) has been dealt with in some detail earlier in this report. The question of possible action against the publishers of Stone's book is also being discussed with the Party's attorney. Here the action may center on securing deletions or corrections in the book, and/or in possible cheap reprint editions of it. The publishers, it seems, are not particularly concerned about the matter, since, reportedly, the book has proved a flop. However, we shall see.

IN MEMORIAM

Once more we pause to bend our thoughts in tribute to those who passed away since last we met. The melancholy roster since the last N.E.C. session

numbers twelve, of whom eight rounded out a full and rich life, three who died in life's prime, and one, Eric Swanson, who died (or who is reported dead), a victim in capitalism's criminal global war. To the others who joined the "immense caravan" since the last convention, we have paid tribute in succeeding N.E.C. reports.

Among the veterans we note Conrad C. Gaus of Rhode Island, Dyer Enger of Section Los Angeles (who joined the Party three years before De Leon did), Walter Engel of Section Kansas City, and Jacob Schmitter of Section Passaic, all devoted and loyal to the S.L.P. to the last. And gone also is Tom Ballantyne, veteran member-at-large, and the father of our devoted Comrade Doris Ballantyne of Section San Francisco. And among the others there were Emmett Lovelace and John Markos, both of Section Cook County, and Sylvester Young of Pittsburgh, the equal of the others in service and devotion to our cause. Also among the oldest veterans we record the passing of Karl Zimmerman of Hoboken, who, though not a member when he died, was a loyal and sincere working-class champion during a long life, his failure to keep up his membership being due entirely to extreme old age and illness. And among those over whose untimely passing we deeply grieve was Louise Osborne of Section St. Paul, who so wholeheartedly and sincerely dedicated herself to the great cause of working-class emancipation, and whose much-too-early death is above all mourned by her comrade-husband, John T. Osborne. In her passing Section St. Paul lost one of its mainstays, one whose cheerful presence ever brought courage and inspiration to her fellow workers.

Two of the oldest veterans of the old De Leonist spartan band died in recent months, S. Moskovitz of New York and Michael L. Hiltner of Kansas City. Sam Moskovitz, as he was affectionately called by his friends and comrades, passed away on the very day of the 1947 Thanksgiving Affair in New York, an event he had looked forward to with the same eagerness that he had anticipated the preceding forty-nine Thanksgiving Affairs held in New York City. Sam Moskovitz was a great admirer and close associate of De Leon, one who fought valiantly with him at the second convention of the I.W.W. in 1906, when that then great organization faced its first outstanding battle against the forces of anarchism and corruption. As a member of the N.E.C. Sub-Committee for many years, he contributed greatly to the welfare and security of our Party. Sam Moskovitz, small in stature, but a giant in spirit and purpose, never wavered in his devotion to, nor relented in his endeavors in behalf of, the deathless principles to which in his youth he first dedicated his life.

Michael Hiltner was active in New York years before he went to Missouri. Necessity, the necessity that drives every exploited wage slave, prompted his leaving the New York Section where he had worked so hard, and fought so well, as one of the most dependable comrades-in-arms of De Leon. A rare personality was Mike Hiltner, one who knew neither discouragement nor defeat, one to whom the Socialist Labor Party was dearer than life itself. He was a frequent writer of letters to the National Office, though his personal

unfortunate circumstances, and the unfavorable situation in Kansas City, made it difficult for him to be active, but he was a regular and liberal contributor to Party funds, and this to the very last. His letters were always inspiring, always helpful, and always charged with sympathetic understanding. Toward the end of his life he was afflicted with a mortal disease, though he seemed not to have thought of it as such. About two years ago he met with a serious accident, narrowly escaping with his life. It may be that this accident was the direct cause of the dread malady that finally laid him low. But this notwithstanding, he remained cheerful and optimistic to the end. Only last December he wrote:

"I have great hopes of getting over this ordeal, so I can be of use to the S.L.P. I believe all of our comrades are indebted to the S.L.P., and can never repay, no matter what someone may say that they are sacrificing themselves. Marx, Engels, De Leon, and our foremost comrades never felt that they sacrificed themselves . . . As for myself, I know I owe everything to the S.L.P. . . ."

Surrounded by a hostile family, and at length alienated from it by religious prejudices against him and his Socialist principles, Mike Hiltner withdrew to live alone, to remain true to himself. Thus he lived, and thus he died, an S.L.P. exemplar, an outstanding personality who was first, last and all the time an S.L.P. man, whom to honor is thereby to be honored.

The Hiltners, and all the other S.L.P. stalwarts, may be silent now, and with us no more, but their example speaks in volume thunderous, and their spirit is ever, and ever *will* remain, with us, though the world lags behind them. In the paraphrased words of the poet:

"Now they are dumb with no more to say,
Now they are dead and taken away,
Silent and still, still leading the way,
And the world comes tumbling after."

CONCLUSION

The titanic conflict now being fought with the whole world as the battlefield is more and more forcing petty issues to the background and bringing to the forefront the "man-issues thundering at our gates," to use De Leon's expression. Ruling-class masks are being dropped, pretenses discarded and pretexts are employed less and less, while the real character of ruling-class elements and their real aims and purposes are being revealed ever more clearly, to the accompaniment of corresponding brutal ruling-class methods and tactics. All of this constitutes the infallible signs of an old order in the final stages of dissolution, of a ruling class, forced against the wall, rallying around itself all available allies, whatever the minor differences that may have divided them prior to the advent of the supreme crisis.

While the basic cause of the world-shaking conflict is still being obscured by ruling class chicanery, and while the vast majority still support the old system, passively or actively, more and more is being perceived of that basic cause by ever greater numbers of people. One of the phenomena of our times is that increasing numbers of observing persons are, of their own volition, expressing thoughts and perceiving economic realities that formerly were, and only could have been, expressed and perceived by those trained and educated in Marxian science. The economic facts and political realities are in an increasing degree exposing to ridicule the mumbo jumbo of the capitalist political economists; and the sterilities of the political thinking that follow from capitalist economics are being recognized as such by many who otherwise entertain no radical thoughts. To capitalism this is a dangerous situation, all the more so since it springs from a cause over which its supporters can exercise little or no control. In such a situation "bogy men" are invented, just as "bogy men" were and are invented by the priesthood to keep their flocks in line. But "bogy men," through excessive use, are soon worn down to the bone.

It is in the light of these facts that the international conflict must be appraised and understood. And the militant Marxist hails with delight the process that more and more is laying bare the root cause of the present-day social disease, and welcomes the circumstances that reveal the various ruling-class elements in their true colors and characters, sans masks, sans pretense, sans everything.

Ultramontanism, itself a ruling-class phenomenon, presents itself as the greatest force of cohesion within ruling class society. It is more and more becoming the center, the rallying point, for all the elements of reaction in the dying capitalist system. It has served as such a force in previous social crises, and it survived these because it succeeded in allying itself with the new propertied class, once the latter's revolutionary fervor had cooled. Thereafter, it adjusted itself to the rules of the new class as much as it had to in order to maintain existence. It did so with capitalism, without, however, ever accepting fully the claims of capitalists, except in so far as these claims included the necessity of keeping down the ruled class, the wage slave class. There the Ultramontane machine was on familiar historic ground, on ground common to Ultramontanes and capitalists alike. Inherently, Ultramontanism is anti-capitalist because it is essentially pro-feudalist, in structure as well as in spirit; it assumes a benevolent attitude toward labor because its ideal is that of a "benevolent despotism." In short, the Ultramontane machine is adjusting itself to play the role of major partner in the industrial-feudal society rapidly being nurtured into being by all the forces of reaction in a decadent social system.

The recent Italian election provides us with a magnificent exam-

ple of the role Ultramontanism intends to play in the coming crucial years, and the international plutocratic element is showing ever greater eagerness to support it in that role and did so, particularly in the Italian elections. On the one hand, the American plutocracy, while keeping up the fantastic pretense of working for "democracy" in Italy (and elsewhere), did not really take much trouble to make the pretense stick, as editorial comments and statements by politicians and statesmen clearly revealed. While the election outcome in Italy was still in doubt, plutocracy's chief American organ, the New York *Herald Tribune,* wrote editorially (April 14, 1948):

"This country has done everything legitimately [?] in its power to sustain democracy [i.e., capitalism] in Italy—with wheat, coal, ships, financial support and as fair and just a policy as we could offer [!]—and it stands ready to support the true decision which the Italian people may themselves arrive at ....."

In simpler terms, this means that American capitalism went to extreme limits to purchase the votes of Italians, to bribe and corrupt the voters in Italy, and did so as crudely as ward politicians ever did it under a Tammany regime. And American capitalism will continue to corrupt and bribe if the Italians will only continue to vote the straight capitalist ticket! For that, of course, is what is meant by "true decision."

After the election, the *Herald Tribune* was equally outspoken, when editorially it said a week later (April 21, 1948):

"The [Italian election] result is an impressive demonstration of the real power of the Marshall plan as a practical instrument of policy, of the strength not only of American food and coal but of American ideas of freedom and justice [!] in the contemporary world."

Discounting the hyperbole of "freedom and justice," etc., could anything be plainer or more factual? The "Marshall plan" is the program for buying and corrupting the world's starved and poor into acquiescing in maintaining capitalism, or the clerico-feudo-capitalist system being fashioned in order to stave off Socialism; and, secondly, for preventing complete chaos and anarchy in the rest of the world. The scheme apparently worked in Italy, though too many Italians (who have no more use for plutocratic America than they have for Stalinism) seem to have resented the crude methods employed, as Mr. Walter Lippmann pointed out in a recent column (*Herald Tribune,* April 22, 1948) when, quoting a colleague on his paper, he wrote that "We [American capitalism] seem to have given the Italians the impression....that we are 'a reactionary Santa Claus.' The impression [anxiously adds Mr. Lippmann] needs to be corrected." To be sure, to be sure!

The role of the Vatican has been brazenly political—all pretense of the Church's never meddling in politics was cast to the winds. Like a seasoned political huckster, the Pope alternately threatened

and cajoled. Columbia Broadcasting System's correspondent, Howard K. Smith, with amazing frankness, reported that "About a month ago, the Vatican dropped that [alleged non-intervention in politics] policy *and entered politics as a bipartisan of the anti-Communists.*" And in the same report he reminded his listeners that the Milan "Cardinal Schuster publicly announced that absolution would be refused to Italians who aided, or voted for, the Reds. The Pope followed with a similar threat. Since then every parish priest throughout the country has reenforced this strong message to tens of millions of Italian voters."

"Strong message," indeed, for probably only devout Catholics can fully measure the effect on the faithful of the awfulness of such a threat. To be faced with it fills the devout Catholic with terror. Accordingly, to the bribe of American capitalism, there was added the strongest form of intimidation conceivable under the circumstances. And this, incidentally, is what they call a free election; this is what they present as a sample of American democracy! Shades of Thomas Jefferson!

The intimidation applied to the Italian voters reminds one of the intimidation applied to American working class voters by American capitalists during the earlier campaigns for the Presidency of Wm. Jennings Bryan. Capitalists caused placards to be posted in factories and offices announcing in effect: *If Bryan is elected this factory will close down.* In the one case, the worker is threatened with starvation if he votes his free choice; in the other case, the worker is threatened with eternal damnation if he votes as he pleases. The methods differ—the principle and the objective are identical!

De Leon has brilliantly illumined the use of such methods for purposes of intimidation in furtherance and protection of property, and to achieve political ends. Thirty-seven years ago he wrote:

"The interdiction, virtual excommunication, of men, not for any lapse in morality, not for any transgression in matters of faith or religion, but for acts that strictly and exclusively affect ownership and control of property in forms and manner recognized as legal by the laws of the land—that [interdiction], together with the undoubtable consequences thereof, is an event in which history is repeating and will, as a consequence, repeat itself, not as a farce but as the continuation of a long chain of historic events of prime magnitude.

"It was no act of 'heresy' that, at the beginning of last century, provoked the Vatican to excommunicate the flower of South America's population. Their offense was the taking up of arms against the intolerable tyranny and rapacity of the corrupt-to-the-bone court of Spain, and the driving of the despoilers from the land.—The act concerned *property* and was *political.*

"It was no act of 'heresy' that, some seventy years later, again provoked the Vatican to threaten, and its friar agents to seek to en-

force the threats upon a large portion of the Filipinos. Their offense also was the rising in revolt against the extorting Spanish government.—The act concerned, once more, *property* and was *political.*"

And so, paraphrasing De Leon, we can say about the threats in the Italian election:

"It would have been no act of 'heresy' for the Italian masses to have attempted to overthrow the feudo-capitalist regime in Italy, a regime backed by the American plutocracy. The act, even if attempted, would have concerned *property* and would have been *political.*"

Thus we witness once again the historic spectacle of an open alliance between the Ultramontane or Vatican politicians and a ruling class threatened with extinction. But if history continues to repeat itself, as it surely will, we can safely predict the outcome. The forces of reaction will, and shall, again bite the dust!

Nor must we deceive ourselves that the Ultramontane machine stands alone among the clerico-political elements in defense of class rule. The powerful Protestant church hierarchies do not lag far behind the Vatican politicians, though they obviously do not exert the same degree of universal power over the minds of the masses. A German publication recently at hand makes the point that "During the Wilhelminic [i.e., Kaiser Wilhelm II's] epoch the point of view of the [Protestant] Church as an instrument of the domination and treatment of the masses was most clearly summed up in the sentence: *'Dem Volke muss die Religion erhalten bleiben* ["Religion must be maintained for the people."].' "

And Herbert Matthews, New York *Times* London correspondent, recently reported (New York *Times,* April 16, 1948), under the headline, "Clerics Condone Atom Bomb Use": "Justification for the manufacture, stockpiling and even, in certain circumstances, the use of atomic bombs, came from an extraordinary quarter here today—a Church of England Commission." Here the church hierarchy not merely dons the political garb—it dons the garb of the ruling-class militarist, it assumes the role of Mars in his grimmest and most horrible character.

Ultramontanism, as a ruling-class force, is all-inclusive. It embraces all variations of dogmas, because at heart Ultramontanism is creedless—excepting only the creed of ruling-class maintenance and continued sway. And when the last call to battle is sounded, the political hierarchies of all organized creeds will stand as one against working class demands for emancipation from capitalist wage slavery. And it becomes ever more the duty of Marxists to tear from the hypocritical faces of the Ultramontanes the religious masks with which they seek to conceal their real character as ruling-class political allies.

The circumstance that the object feared by the pluto-clerical forces in Italy was the Stalinist totalitarians does not affect the principle, any more than the fact of the harmless Bryan's being the

object of the fear and wrath of the plutocracy forty-odd years ago affected the principle involved in the plutocratic threat to close factories if Bryan were elected. Stalinism may be a threat to certain established forms of class rule, and to the special vested interests of the Vatican, but it is no threat to class rule itself, since it is in itself an example of one of the worst forms of class rule—State despotism. And its claim (implied or otherwise) to being a *benevolent despotism* is no more valid or relevant than the similar claim (implied or otherwise) of Ultramontanism. All forms of despotism are inimical to working-class interests—every totalitarian authority constitutes a mortal foe to working-class emancipation aspirations. Far from implying sympathy with Italian Stalinism in our condemnation of the tactics and aim of the plutocratic-Vatican alliance in the Italian election, the Socialist Labor Party resoundingly declares: "A plague on both your houses!"

*

The forces are gathering, the battle lines are being drawn. War, and the threat of war—all-destroying, all-consuming war—hang over us like the sword of Damocles. The terrifying prospect of atomic warfare haunts men with nameless fear. For, living in a capitalist madhouse, with madmen in control, who knows when one of the ruling-class paranoiacs may cut the strings that as yet hold the monstrous bombs captive? In the words of Marx: "Once the first shot is fired, control ceases, the horse can take the bit between its teeth." Our only hope lies in the early awakening of the working class—the hope that events will deeply stir the workers, instruct them and force them to exercise their supreme sovereignty, organize to make it effective and terminate for all time the capitalist system, the cause of their slavery and misery, the root cause of all modern social evils.

In a letter written in November of the year 1775, to his friend John Randolph, Thomas Jefferson said:

"We want [i.e., lack] neither inducements nor power to declare and assert a separation [from Great Britain]. It is will, alone, which is wanting, and that is growing apace under the fostering hand of our king."

We may paraphrase and apply this statement to the present titanic world struggle between the capitalist class and the working class, and declare:

"We of the working class lack neither inducement nor power to declare and assert our emancipation from capitalist wage slavery. It is *will* alone which is lacking, and that is growing apace under the scourge of plutocratic rule."

And, we should add, it is growing under the stimulation of the tireless educational efforts of the S.L.P. Surely, inducements aplenty to overthrow capitalist misrule are offered the workers, daily and hourly, and, though the power of the working class is still latent, it is nevertheless there, ready to be nobly wielded through the instrumentality of the foreshadowed

Socialist Industrial Union—the workers' power, the bulwark of civilization, and the hope of humanity!

Fraternally submitted,
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,
SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY,
Arnold Petersen,
National Secretary.

REPORT OF THE EDITOR

To the Delegates of the 1948 Convention of the Socialist Labor Party.

Greetings:

Few changes or innovations have been made in the WEEKLY PEOPLE between 1944 and 1948. We of the editorial staff have, of course, tried constantly to improve our official organ and to sustain the high standards established in the past. We have striven for simplicity of expression, the elimination of seldom-used words and phrases, and an increase in the number of short, lively articles. As critical readers you are in a much better position to determine whether or not these efforts have been successful. But of this much I am certain: Mechanically, the improvement in the past four years, particularly in the last few months, has been considerable.

If you compare a current issue with an issue from the files of 1944 you will immediately note the difference. For one thing, the press work is vastly superior today. There is no off-setting (smudging of one page by heavy ink on another) and the blacks are black and not a sickly gray. For another, the WEEKLY PEOPLE is now printed in a new, stronger and more readable type.

However, aside from these mechanical innovations, and a few relatively unimportant changes in make-up, the only innovations are the weekly column, "50 Years Ago in the Weekly People," and Comrade Robert Long's monthly column, "Science and Society." Both features are popular, especially the "Science and Society" column.

For a long time now I have been considering another monthly feature. Comrade Long selects the material for his column from the various scientific journals that are at his disposal and that he is particularly well equipped to understand and appraise. The idea that I have been toying with is a column based on a reading of such financial publications as the *Wall Street Journal, Magazine of Wall Street* and *Barron's Weekly*. I think an "inside look"—so to speak—at Wall Street would be a source of much agitational ammunition. However, thus far I have been unable to find anyone who is equipped for this assignment and who will accept it.

Field Staff

When your present Editor assumed his duties nearly ten years ago, one of the first projects he undertook was to build up a staff of WEEKLY PEOPLE contributors and correspondents. The war put a crimp in this project, some of our contributors being drafted, and others being unable to summon the

energy after working long hours in industry.

Last year we renewed our attempt to build an alert, far-flung WEEKLY PEOPLE field staff. The National Secretary relayed a message to the subdivisions asking members who thought they might develop into Socialist fighters of the pen to communicate with the Editor for a set of mimeographed instructions.

These mimeographed instructions, which are still available, endeavor to answer two questions, viz.: What to Write? (including What NOT to Write!) and How to Write It?

The response was heartening. Something like thirty sets of instructions were sent out, and the effort resulted finally in adding four more or less regular contributors. However, there are still several gaps in our coverage. We are particularly in need of a regular correspondent or two in the Pacific Northwest, New England and the South. Also, we hope that before long we can boast of a correspondent in the nation's capital.

In recent years we have encountered considerable difficulty in getting books reviewed. A paucity of book reviews in the WEEKLY PEOPLE is the result. Any assistance along this line will be greatly appreciated by the WEEKLY PEOPLE staff.

Radio Scripts

At its meeting in 1947, the National Executive Committee adopted a resolution calling upon the Editor to turn out a radio script each week. The script was to be mimeographed and rushed to the Sections.

I have tried to turn out special scripts whenever they were requested, but it has not been possible thus far to put the N.E.C.'s resolution into effect. This has been due to personnel changes and difficulties, as well as to other special work that I have undertaken. I hope, however, that soon the obligation of preparing a weekly 15-minute radio script may be fulfilled.

Microfilmed Files

I would like to record in this report that several months ago the Photographic Department of the New York Public Library informed me that it completed the microfilming of the *People*. To complete the task it had to borrow some of the early files from the Boston Public Library. This means that *The People,* the *Daily People* and the WEEKLY PEOPLE are now on microfilm from the first issue in 1891 to and including 1946.

I have no recommendations for this Convention.

Fraternally submitted,
ERIC HASS,
Editor, WEEKLY PEOPLE

APPENDIX

I

Platform of the Socialist Labor Party

The crucial issue of our age is written in gigantic letters across the social sky.

It is: *Capitalist Despotism* or *Socialist Freedom.*

The Socialist Labor Party of America, at its last National Convention in the City of New York, in placing its program for a Socialist reconstruction of society before the American workers, declared this to be the issue that confronts them:

Either the working class takes control of affairs out of the hands of the capitalist class, ends the system of capitalist private ownership, and rebuilds our society on the basis of social ownership of the means of production, democratic management and production for use;

Or, as surely as night follows day, the capitalist system will lead us down the road to a third world war, totalitarian dictatorship and imperialist barbarism.

The Socialist Labor Party earnestly asks you to consider the facts of the present situation:

With the invention of atomic bombs and guided missiles, and the development of germ warfare, war at last looms as the potential destroyer of the human race. Despite this portentous fact and its frightful implications, the plutocratic masters of this country are preparing for another global war.

• Through the press, radio and motion pictures, they are conditioning the country psychologically for a war with America's imperialist rival, Soviet Russia.

• They have launched a huge rearmament program that will divert the energies of millions of workers from the tasks of peace.

• Flouting America's traditional hostility to militarism, they are scheming to enact a system of permanent military conscription.

• By means of fabulous subsidies voted by Congress for military research, they are reducing science and education to mere tools of an exalted military machine.

• They have drafted plans for total war and the regimentation of industry.

• They have brazenly acknowledged their intention to flout the Constitution. In plain violation of the Thirteenth Amendment they are scheming to conscript industrial manpower, and thus to reduce the workers to involuntary servitude.

Their politicians and spokesmen say this huge militarization program is for peace, but everyone in his senses knows that it is for war, and that if matters are allowed to drift, sooner or later there will be war.

Why is the plutocracy taking this desperate and suicidal course?

The Socialist Labor Party declares that the capitalists who guide America's policies are acting in response to their material and class interests, and that the real cause of war is not "bad men," but an outmoded, predatory social system. The logic of this is easily explained:

The international rivalries that erupt in war are a direct result of the system of wage labor—of the fact that the workers receive in wages only a fraction of the value of their product, hence can buy back only a fraction. Of the surplus, a part is consumed by the capitalist class in extravagant living, a part is wasted, a part is employed in expanding industry, and another part goes down the huge drain of the bureaucratic political State.

All of this represents wealth of which labor is robbed, and which in no manner or sense accrues to the benefit of the producing workers or contributes to social progress. That which remains after these deductions must be sold in foreign markets to relieve the glut at home. It is competition for these markets and for spheres of economic influence and sources of raw materials that makes the recurrence of war inevitable as long as the capitalist principle prevails as the basis of society.

It follows that attempts to insure peace via the United Nations are doomed to fail. Sooner or later, every world-organization edifice that is built on the foundation of capitalist dry rot must collapse.

Socialism alone supplies a sound foundation for peace and for the free cultural and material intercourse among the peoples of the world. Socialism does this by destroying the parent evil—the exploitation of wage labor—and thereby ending the problem of "unsold surpluses." Capitalism has everything standing on its head. Under capitalism surpluses are a curse. Under Socialism, which puts things right side up, there will be *production for use* instead of *production for sale and profit,* and surpluses, should they occur, will be a blessing. There can be no lasting peace without Socialism!

War is one consequence of prolonging the outmoded capitalist system; another is the scrapping of the Bill of Rights and the State-ification of society.

In recent years the capitalists have turned more and more to the State as an agency to break the back of working class resistance to increased exploitation, and to prolong their existence as a ruling, privileged class.

Signs of the capitalist reaction abound.

- **One is the enactment by a pliant capitalist Congress of the labor-shackling Taft-Hartley Law and the revival of the medieval weapon of the court injunction.**
- **Another is the attempt, typical of the police State, to intimidate the workers and break their spirit by launching a Gestapo-like "disloyalty" witch hunt among them.**
- **Still another is the ominous spread of police brutality and officially condoned mob violence and terrorism, and the alarming growth of race prejudice.**
- **Finally, and most conspicuous of**

all, is the rapid militarization of the country and the corresponding rise in the influence and power of the anti-democratic military caste.

The Socialist Labor Party holds this reaction to be but a manifestation of an irreconcilable class struggle that rages in capitalist society.

One aim of the capitalist class is to hold wages down during the period of brisk demand for labor, to intensify exploitation, and thus to insure higher profits for itself.

A second aim is to reduce labor to the status of unresisting industrial serfs, thus evolving a labor-shackling system that corresponds to the needs of the present huge concentrations of feudalistic corporate capital.

The Socialist Labor Party warns the American workers that they are unprepared, ideologically and organizationally, to block this reaction or to prevent its success. Their present unions (A. F. of L., C.I.O. and kindred bodies), by reason of their pro-capitalist philosophy, treacherous labor-faker leadership and job-trust character, are, like the German trade unions (which were taken over by the Nazis and converted into the Labor Front), preeminently capitalist weapons to bridle the working class.

To remove the menace of fascism and industrial feudalism, the American workers must scrap the unions that accept capitalism as a finality. They must build a new union based on their class interests, and one that will consciously fight for the Socialist goal. They must organize the all-embracing Socialist Industrial Union—the workers' power!

The Socialist Labor Party appeals to you to accept the logic of these facts:

WAR, FASCISM AND POVERTY AMIDST PLENTY ARE THE EVIL BROOD OF CAPITALISM. No worker who reaches this conclusion can, without consciously aligning himself with the forces of reaction, support the parties that have as their aim the preservation of capitalism. In this category, besides the Republicans and Democrats, we include the "Third Party Progressives" (who acclaim "progressive capitalism"), and the "Liberal," "Labor," "Socialist" and "Communist" reformers. To speak of "progressive capitalism" today is as nonsensical as it would have been to speak of "progressive slavery" in 1860. And to propose capitalist reforms is to help prolong the capitalist cause of war and fascism. The logic of this is inescapable.

The Socialist Labor Party, therefore, calls upon the American workers, and all other enlightened citizens, to repudiate the parties of capitalism, and to support its program for a Socialist reconstruction of society.

The goal of the Socialist Labor Party is an Industrial Republic of Labor—a system based on collective ownership by the people of the land and all the instruments of wealth production, and one in which the workers will manage industry democratically through socially integrated Socialist Industrial Union Councils.

To bring to birth this society of peace, abundance and boundless human happiness, the Socialist Labor Party appeals to the working class, and to all other enlightened citizens, to support the principles of the Socialist Labor Party, and prepare now to help build the Socialist Industrial Union to back up the Socialist ballot. Unite with us to end the social system that dooms us to a lifelong tenure of wage slavery, with unemployment, poverty and wars as inseparable and ever recurrent features. Unite with us to establish the free Socialist Republic of Peace, Plenty and International Brotherhood!

II

The S.L.P. Call to Action

As we approach the tasks before us, in the Presidential election year of 1948, the Socialist Labor Party of America, in National Convention assembled, in the City of New York, on May 3, 1948, pauses in its labors to pay tribute to the genius that inspired the writing of the "Communist Manifesto" one hundred years ago.

Written while capitalism was still a vigorous and expanding social system, the Manifesto forecast the eventual and inevitable collapse of capitalism.

Today we witness the fulfillment of that great social prophecy.

The Manifesto called upon the workers of the world to unite.

Today, one hundred years later, we repeat the call to action:

Workers! Unite for the abolition of capitalism, a system of social robbery. Workers! Unite for the establishment of the Socialist Republic of Labor, THE system of peace, freedom and plenty.

Inspired by the work of those who have gone before us, we pledge ourselves to continue that work with unflagging zeal until the job is done.

Be it hereby

Resolved, That we accept the challenge of the Manifesto of 1848, in this year of 1948, and that we will bend every effort to present that challenge to the workers of the United States and of the world by word of mouth, by public meetings, by leaflets, by pamphlets, by our official organ, the WEEKLY PEOPLE, by radio, and by all other available means.

THE PROLETARIANS HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE BUT THEIR CHAINS, THEY HAVE A WORLD TO WIN.

WORKINGMEN OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

III

Resolution on The Church in Politics

The Socialist Labor Party in convention assembled raises its voice in solemn warning against the reemergence of the historic phenomenon known as *Ultramontanism,* more popularly understood as political clericalism, or simply as the Vatican in politics. With increasing boldness, with less and

less pretense, the Vatican and its branches throughout the world enter the field of politics and economics, doing so behind the mask of religion, but otherwise openly siding with reactionary ruling class interests, and openly opposing legitimate attempts on the part of Marxian workers to terminate the evil system of capitalism.

The Socialist Labor Party does not challenge the right of any group, whatever be its character, to promote its own special interests in the legitimate field of politics and economics. It does challenge the right of a group to enter the political arena, cloaked in the garb of religion, challenging and attacking the political and economic theories of those with whom it disagrees, and then claiming immunity from counterattack on the craven and false pretense that such counterattacks constitute attacks on "religion," and on the assumed sacrosanct character of the Church.

Unblushingly and regularly the Pope and the bishops denounce Marxian Socialism, and threaten the devout members of the Church with dire consequences if they dare support Socialism, while at the same time denying that they are entering the field of politics whenever they challenge the unrestricted right of citizens to support a particular political party of their own choice, lest they imperil their "immortal souls." And with equal effrontery the Vatican and its agents everywhere raise the false cries of "bigotry" and "persecution" when those whom they attack accept the challenge, and refute the political and economic arguments of *Ultramontanism,* and expose its false or baseless charges.

The recent Italian elections brought into full focus the role of the Vatican as a political partisan, and as a partisan of the most reactionary and oppressive elements in present-day society. All reports agree, and the Ultramontanes have not dared to enter denials, that the Pope and the Italian priesthood, with resounding echoes in the United States and elsewhere, employed direct and, to the faithful believers, terrifying pressure to compel them to vote for the political party styling itself the "Christian Democrats." The Milan reporter for the, certainly not radical, Columbia Broadcasting System stated in a recent broadcast that "about a month ago, the Vatican dropped that [alleged non-intervention in politics] policy and entered politics as a bipartisan of the anti-Communists." The reporter continued: "The opening salvo of the Vatican campaign was fired, significantly, by Cardinal Schuster of this city, Milan, a little over a month ago. Cardinal Schuster publicly announced that absolution would be refused to Italians who aided, or voted for, the Reds. The Pope [continued the CBS reporter] followed with a similar public threat. Since then, every parish priest throughout the country has reinforced this strong message to tens of millions of Italian voters."

These threats, this repulsive form of spiritual blackjacking, revealed the Vatican and the concurring hierarchies everywhere as

politicians with the mask of religion temporarily removed. It revealed them as active partisans, not only of reactionary ruling class interests in Italy, but as partisans and active political agents of the international capitalist-imperialist plunderbund.

The Socialist Labor Party, we repeat, does not challenge the right of the Vatican and the hierarchy in the United States and elsewhere to enter the political arena, and to oppose it and Socialism in general. But when they do enter the field of politics and economics, we insist that they do so without hiding behind the mask of religion. The outstanding American Marxist scholar, Daniel De Leon, subjected *Ultramontanism,* its history, polity and practices, to a searching inquiry, stating his findings, based on facts, in language that no thinking, objective person could fail to give concurrence. In 1911 Daniel De Leon wrote:

"The Roman Catholic Church the world over—markedly so, of recent years, in the United States —is essentially a political organization, with all that that implies. Like all other political bodies, it seeks material and political power to enforce its views. As such, as a political movement, it is entitled to all the rights of other political bodies. The same as other political bodies....so likewise must the political Roman Catholic Church .....be safeguarded in the freedom of propaganda.....The election laws of the land condense these principles in the clause that forbids any religious device on the ballot.

"The political Roman Catholic Church [continued De Leon] proceeds upon a different set of principles. It demands all the rights of a political body toward others, but denies all others the same rights toward itself. The latter it attempts under the plea of 'religion'.....When one of its high officials quotes at the Washington Catholic University [Mark] Hanna's and [Chauncey] Depew's praises of the Roman Catholic Church as 'the best police' and as 'the most effective guarantee against Socialism'—that it applauds uproariously as 'political wisdom'; when the Socialist movement turns to the pages of history and proves from them that the political regimen of the Roman Catholic Church has, everywhere it had power, made against political freedom, science and progress—that it howls at as ["bigotry" and] 'sacrilege.' "

In reaffirming its concurrence in the analysis made by Daniel De Leon, and in the principles pronounced by him concerning the Vatican in politics, the Socialist Labor Party, in National Convention assembled, in the City of New York, on May 3, 1948, declares:

1. The religious beliefs, or the absence of any such, are the private and exclusive concern of the individual.

2. The individual citizen possesses the inalienable right to vote for and support the political party of his own choice, unintimidated by any threat or pressure exerted by ecclesiastical or other bodies.

3. We denounce the attempts, successful and otherwise, made by

the Vatican and the hierarchy generally, to intimidate those among its followers who desire to vote in accordance with their convictions and consciences.

4. We pronounce such attempts, when made in the United States, subversive of the United States Constitution, and infringements of the political freedom guaranteed to all citizens under the basic law of the land.

5. We denounce the propaganda of falsehood and misinformation conducted by the Vatican and the hierarchy concerning the principles and objectives of Socialism, especially when such political propaganda is carried on under the cloak of religion, with the accompanying claim for enjoyment of immunity against rebuke, refutation and correction.

6. We stand by the American Constitutional principle that no law shall be made respecting religion, and we add that no official recognition shall be given to any religious or would-be religious body, citing as an example of such the virtual diplomatic recognition of the Vatican through a so-called special representative of the President to the Vatican, a recognition bestowed by Presidential action, under no Constitutional authority, and without having given full recognition to the Vatican as being a political body, and without insisting that the pretense of religion be dropped.

7. Finally, we call upon all workers, and all other sincere persons, regardless of race, color or creed, to uphold the Socialist Labor Party in these principles, and to support the Party's general program, at the polls and otherwise, to the end of terminating the misrule of capitalism and its beneficiaries and agents, be they clerical or otherwise.

IV

Resolution on Russian State Despotism

The Socialist Labor Party, at its 1944 National Convention, extended greetings to the workers of Russia "with the warning that Stalinism is their enemy, as much as, if not more so than, Hitlerism, and that their interests demand that anti-Marxism be overthrown in Russia and that there be substituted a rigid adherence to Marxian principles."

The Socialist Labor Party, at its 1948 National Convention, is forced to repeat this warning with increased urgency.

It is a fundamental Marxian principle that the existence of the State is inseparable from the existence of slavery. The State is the executive committee of a ruling class for the maintenance of its rule over a subject class.

Marx warned that the "working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made State machinery, and wield it for its own purposes." De Leon added to the warning by stating, "The political movement of labor that, in the event of victory, would prolong its existence a second after triumph would be a usurpation. It would be either a usurpation or the signal for a social catastrophe."

The State exists in Russia. The rudiments of workers' control, established in the early days of the Russian Revolution through workers' councils, have long since been eradicated. The declared intentions of Lenin for the building of a Socialist Industrial Union government have been repudiated by Stalin. Occasionally, lip service is rendered to the Marxian principle that the State must be abolished, but the "abolition" is cast into the long distant future. Meanwhile, the power of the Stalinist State constantly increases. And with its growth, and with the abandonment of Socialist incentives, greater and greater reliance is placed on the State's coercive power, on Russian nationalism and chauvinism, and on the "principle" of fuehrership.

The masters of the Russian State are the entrenched bureaucrats and functionaries of the "Communist" party, of the governmental apparatus erected by the party, of the industries, and of the military. These bureaucrats and functionaries comprise a ruling class in every essential respect. They have divorced themselves from the working class. They have perpetuated their existence as a ruling class. They possess a favored status in society. They maintain an arbitrary power over the lives of the masses of the Russian workers and peasants. They control the wealth-production facilities of the nation.

Events of the past four years have confirmed the anti-Marxism of the masters of the coercive Russian State.

The Russian State's wartime seizures of Finland, Poland and the Baltic States set a pattern for the recent land-grabbing and creation of satellite States in Poland, Jugoslavia, Hungary, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia, for the attempts to seize land and "rights" in Turkey and Iran, and for the deals with U.S. capitalism for the seizure of territory and "rights" in China, Japan and other parts of Asia.

The holding of the entire Russian working class in subjection made the use, and continued use, of millions of German and Japanese prisoners of war as slave laborers as "natural" for the rulers of the despotic Russian State as it was for the Nazi capitalists to use prisoners of war as slave laborers.

The Russian glorification of the State, of Russian nationalism and of militarism made it inevitable that Stalinist Russia should produce a military officer caste as arrogant as that of Nazi Germany, and that the Russian State should use its military machine for the purpose of plundering conquered countries of the goods and means of wealth production that were created by the workers of the conquered countries.

The development of a hierarchy of rulers and the casting of the masses into the role of pawns inevitably forced the Russian State to outlaw criticism and to regiment thinking. Stalinist "cleverness," doubledealing, working class betrayals, ruthlessness and hypocrisy led inevitably to collaboration with Nazi Germany, and, later, to collaboration with Ameri-

can and British capitalism, and, still later, to cooperation in the victorious capitalists' efforts to palm off the "United Nations" as a means of attaining and keeping the peace. In this cooperation with the "democracies," Russian State despotism has played the capitalists' game of betraying the workers into believing that peace is possible without Socialism.

Stalinism's crimes of the past four years are the continuation of a criminal record long since noted by the Socialist Labor Party. They are part of a logical sequence that has its origin in the Stalinist betrayal and repudiation of Marxism.

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The Socialist Labor Party of America, in National Convention assembled, in the City of New York, May 3, 1948, hereby reiterates its warning that Stalinism is the enemy of all workers, including the Russian workers. It extends its greetings to the Russian workers, to all other workers under Stalinist domination, and to all the workers of the world. And the Socialist Labor Party hereby

Resolves, That it will continue to expose and oppose Stalinism and Russian State despotism as a chief enemy of the working class, and that it will continue to advocate the adoption by all workers of the program of Socialist Industrial Unionism, the one program that can guide the workers in the ending of all forms of despotism, capitalist and Stalinist, and in the construction of a classless and casteless society in which true democracy in the control of the means of wealth production, and in all social functions, will prevail.

V

Resolution on "Outlawing the Communist Party"

There is a basic conflict between political democracy as guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States and the fact of capitalist economic despotism. This conflict, which in the past was successfully masked by the democratic pretenses of the ruling class, is coming into the open more and more as the capitalist system sinks deeper into the mire of its own contradictions.

As the democratic mask falls from the face of the ruling class, it resorts ever more openly to autocratic measures, official incitations to anti-democratic acts and conspiracies against the exercise of Constitutional rights. Among these manifestations of reaction are the attempts now in the "planning-board stage" to enact legislation that would, in effect, jettison the Constitutional right of the people to amend their government, or (in Lincoln's words) "to dismember and overthrow it."

Thomas Jefferson, denying that the Constitution is, "like the ark of the covenant too sacred to be touched," declared that this right —embodied in the Constitution's amendment clause, Article V — provides peaceful means for bringing the country's institutions in

keeping with the people's needs. "If this avenue be shut to the call of sufferance," Jefferson warned, "it will make itself heard through that of force, and we shall go on, as other nations are doing, in the endless circle of oppression, rebellion, reformation; and oppression, rebellion, reformation, again; and so on forever."

The present conspiracy against this basic right is put forth in the guise of "outlawing the Communist party"—a transparent pretext made convenient by the fact that the imperialist rival of American capitalism for world domination, Soviet Russia, calls itself "Communist," and the circumstance that the Communist party of the United States is merely an agent of the Stalinist State.

An example of the schemes now being hatched to use the "Communists" as pretexts for outlawing Constitutional rights, and to establish a political system corresponding to the despotism prevailing in the capitalist workshop, is the proposed "Subversive Activities Control Act" recently concocted in that council of capitalist reaction, the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Among other things, this sinister measure would make illegal "Dissemination of propaganda calculated to undermine established government and institutions."

Whereas, This and similar proposals have as their real purpose the outlawing of all movements challenging the power and privileges of the capitalist class, and

Whereas, In reality such proposals, by being couched in loose and misleading language, may be used to serve, and are probably intended to serve, as entering wedges for bolder and far more sweeping liberty-destroying measures later, and

Whereas, The destruction of the Constitutional right embodied in Article V would be a fatal blow to the hope of civilized man—the hope for a peaceful solution to the Social Question—and would consign the issue to settlement by force; therefore be it

Resolved, That the 22nd National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party, convened in New York City, May 3, 1948, raise its voice in protest against this attempt to subvert the Constitution under the pretense of controlling "subversive activities," and be it further

Resolved, That the Socialist Labor Party call upon its members and supporters to arouse their fellow workers to the present imperiled state of their Constitutional liberties, and to the fact that perpetuation of capitalist relationships inevitably dooms political democracy, and that it be further

Resolved, That the Socialist Labor Party affirm that Socialism alone provides a secure haven for the liberties treasured by civilized man, and that Socialism does this by replacing the economic despotism of capitalism with a system of democratic mastery by the workers of their tools and products, and that it be finally

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to the Members of Congress, the President and the press.

VI

Resolution on the Threat of a Third World War

The contradictions and rivalries of present-day society have plunged the world into perpetual crisis. An element in this perpetual crisis is the constant threat, or existence, of war.

World Wars I and II were separated in time by a period of but twenty-one years. The period between World Wars II and III promises to be much shorter.

All the war-making conditions that existed prior to World Wars I and II exist today. Only the identity of American capitalism's potential enemy has changed. In the first two world wars the enemy was Germany, that is, rival German capitalism. Today the potential enemy of American capitalism in a "shooting war" is Russia, that is, the State ruled by the Stalinist bureaucrats.

A so-called "cold war" is in progress between the United States and Russia, allies of World War II. The "cold war" has proceeded from engagement to engagement, fought at aborted "peace" conferences, in the councils of the so-called United Nations, and in a score or more countries where the economic and political interests of American capitalism clash with those of the Russian State.

The scene has been set for the "shooting war."

Material interests are at the root of the differences between U. S. capitalism and Russian State despotism.

American capitalism and Russian State despotism meet head on in their respective attempts to gain world supremacy. Each seeks the oil pools of the Near and Mid East, more and more foreign markets, sources of raw material, and spheres of influence. Each seeks to establish, or to preserve, governments and economies in Europe and Asia that can be dominated by itself both politically and economically. Each recognizes in the other the greatest threat to the achievement of its aims.

Russia has preserved its gigantic military machine. It continues to enlarge its industrial plant largely with a view to increasing its productivity of the weapons of war.

U.S. capitalism is engaged in placing its military machine on a war footing. Appropriations for military expenditures are getting back to wartime levels. Vast research in atomic, bacterial and other forms of scientific warfare continues. The President of the United States is leading a drive of capitalists, politicians, militarists and propagandists for the establishment of military conscription as a permanent feature of American life.

The weapons are being prepared for World War III.

The threat to the workers of the United States, Russia and the world in general is real, terribly real. The promises of the capitalist propagandists that the peace can be kept are unreal, so unreal that Secretary of State Marshall,

Secretary of Defense Forrestal and other functionaries of the American capitalist State are presently proclaiming their intention to avoid acts that may precipitate war.

But war in the modern world is not caused by the good or bad intentions of statesmen or politicians. It is caused by material conditions, the economic necessities of the ruling class.

In this solemn hour of renewed danger to the workers of the world, the Socialist Labor Party of America, in National Convention assembled, in the City of New York, on May 3, 1948, warns the workers that a third world war is inevitable so long as society is based on private and State ownership of the means of wealth production and on the rule of owning classes and State bureaucracies. Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Socialist Labor Party renew and increase its endeavors to bring the true facts on social relationships to the working class victims of capitalism and Stateism and that it spread throughout the world, by every means at its disposal, knowledge of the program of Socialist Industrial Unionism, the one program that is capable of rebuilding society on an economic and social foundation that will assure universal peace for all time to come.

VII

Resolution on Militarism

The American working class is being subjected to the "preparedness" propaganda that trapped European working classes.

The chief promoters of militarism argue that a militarized State and a conscripted working class would assure peace.

Germany and France were "prepared" for the Franco-Prussian War, for World War I and for World War II. The German and French "preparedness" was duplicated in every European nation, in Japan, and in other nations.

The youth of these countries were conscripted to the respective military machines. The older men, former conscripts, were part of the military reserves, subject to military call at the first "emergency." The art of war was incorporated into the curriculums of both the lower and higher schools. Professional militarists were established as a favored caste in society. The politicians voted the funds wanted by the militarists. Huge war industries were maintained to furnish the weapons of war and to pile up fat profits for their private owners.

The tens of millions of victims of World Wars I and II offer mute testimony to the fact that militarization does not promote peace. Wars are precipitated when the economic and social causes of war are of sufficient weight to prompt desperate ruling classes to unleash their ready-made military machines.

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U.S. capitalism is accelerating its drive to impose permanent military conscription on the American working class. The "crisis" with Russia is given as the rea-

son, but the conscription plans are far older than the "crisis." President Franklin D. Roosevelt demanded postwar military conscription during World War II, when Russia was U.S. capitalism's ally. Indeed, Mr. Roosevelt and other spokesmen for U.S. capitalism advocated permanent peacetime conscription for the American workers long before World War II. Mr. Roosevelt, for instance, stated on March 8, 1919, just a few months *after* the close of World War I: "I hope that there will be some kind of training or universal military service." The statement illustrates the hypocrisy of capitalism, for Mr. Roosevelt, in his last formal appeal for postwar conscription, four months before the surrender of German capitalism in World War II, implied that his was a late conversion. "I am now clear in my own mind," he told the Congress, on January 3, 1945, "that, as an essential factor in the maintenance of peace in the future, we must have universal military training after this war, and I shall send a special message to the Congress on this subject."

Like Mr. Roosevelt, American capitalism as a whole has been long convinced that universal compulsory military service is an essential factor in the maintenance of class rule and in the implementing of American capitalist efforts to maintain and enlarge its world supremacy. And like Mr. Roosevelt, American capitalism is using a current "crisis" to put over its long-considered plans.

The Socialist Labor Party has been the foremost opponent of the capitalist attempt to militarize America. Indeed, because its criticism is basic in pointing to the class issues involved, and because it offers a program that can end militarism and all other evil results of capitalism, the Socialist Labor Party may be said to be the *only* opponent to strike at the roots of militarism. Organizations and individuals that lack the basic analysis of the *cause* and *purpose* of militarism and that have no program to end the system that breeds militarism invariably compromise their opposition by concessions that concede the case to capitalism.

The Socialist Labor Party, in National Convention assembled, in the City of New York, on May 3, 1948, reaffirms its opposition to militarism and its intention to end the system of which militarism is but an effect; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Socialist Labor Party use every legitimate means at its disposal to arouse the workers to the dangers of militarism, and that it urge them to throw their weight in the scales against present schemes to conscript our youth to the military machine by raising their voices in protest and by writing letters to the press and to their Congressmen, and be it further

Resolved, That the Socialist Labor Party, realizing the essentially defensive character of all attempts to beat back the tide of militarism within capitalism, declare that only the working class, organized politically and into Socialist Industrial Unions, is capable of dealing a mortal blow to militarism

by destroying its parent, the system of capitalism.

VIII

Resolution on the Economic Organization of Labor

The 22nd National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party of America, in session in the City of New York, May 3, 1948, reaffirms the Party's previous stand on the question of the economic organization of labor, and declares:

The integrally organized Industrial Union of the working class forms the necessary framework of the Socialist Industrial Republic of Labor, and constitutes the organic form of the Socialist administrative powers of the new society.

The economic organization, or Socialist Industrial Union, is, moreover, the revolutionary might whereby the working class, on the occasion of its victory at the polls, can take physical possession of, hold and operate the factories, mills, mines and all other means of social production and distribution, thus assuring the triumph of the Socialist Revolution and frustrating a conceivable "pro-slavery" rebellion on the part of the outvoted capitalist class.

The present so-called unions—the American Federation of Labor, Congress of Industrial Organizations and kindred organizations—are designed to perpetuate the wages system and dull the edge of the class struggle with devious devices such as collective-bargaining agreements and the fatuously false precept of "brotherhood between capital and labor."

Such pro-capitalist organizations, far from being of, by and for the working class, are veritable job trusts in the complete control of a junta of labor fakers. Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the movement for working class emancipation needs both a political and economic organization, the former to agitate, educate and conduct the struggle for the conquest of the capitalist-controlled political State upon the civilized plane of the ballot; the latter to back up the Socialist ballot with the requisite economic power, a power essential for the lockout of the capitalist class, should that class resort to a "pro-slavery" rebellion; and be it further

Resolved, That we call upon the workers to hasten with all possible effort the formation of the Socialist Industrial Union to accomplish the Socialist reconstruction before the reaction now gathering force plunges society into a new dark ages of perpetual war and industrial feudalism; and be it finally

Resolved, That we denounce and expose pro-capitalist unionism as an instrument to bridle and mulct the working class, lead it into the capitalist political shambles and prevent it from uniting on its class interests for the abolition of wage slavery.

IX

Resolution on International Socialism

"There is in the world today no international Socialist organization worthy of the name."

This statement, made at the twentieth and twenty-first National Conventions of the Socialist Labor Party, must be repeated at the twenty-second National Convention of the Party.

At its twenty-first National Convention, the Socialist Labor Party declared that the formal dissolution of the so-called Third, or "Communist," International, on May 22, 1943, was not needed as a confirmation of the Socialist Labor Party declaration. "The dissolution was merely the figurative addition of an exclamation point to a statement true beyond all question."

At this twenty-second National Convention, the Socialist Labor Party must declare that the Stalinist creation of a "Fourth International," or "Information Bureau," on September 21-28, 1947, affirms our statement. The "Information Bureau" is but a carbon copy of the "Third International," bearing, like its predecessor, the imprint placed upon it by the bureaucratic rulers of the coercive Stalinist Russian State.

The destruction of the "Third International" was a political move to win the favor of the Russian State's wartime allies. The creation of the "Fourth International" was a political move in the postwar struggle of Russian State despotism with western capitalism. The parties involved acceded to the destruction and the "re-creation" like so many automatons. The workers involved were not consulted. And if they had been, the "consultation" would have been as farcical as a Fascist "plebiscite."

The latest Stalinist "International" is composed of the "Communist" parties of Russia, Jugoslavia, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, France and Italy. As the Stalinist parties are the governmental parties in practically all the nations mentioned and are the strongest minority parties in the rest, this listing would seem to indicate tremendous "labor" strength. It does not. The strength actually demonstrated is that of the giant, labor, in chains. In chains that were entwined about the giant by the Stalinist tricksters.

Concurrently with the political reappearance of the Stalinist "International," there are renewed attempts to endow the shade of the "Second International" with life. The attempts are sired by labor fakers and are sponsored by capitalism. United States capitalism's support of the phony European Socialists is well illustrated by the March 22 political broadcast to Italian voters by the anti-Socialist, Major General William J. Donovan, corporation attorney, former head of the U.S. Office of Strategic Services, and troubleshooter for the American capitalist State. Urging Italian voters to vote against the "Communist" party in the April 18 elections, in a State Department broadcast,

General Donovan praised phony Socialism by stating that "the Italian Communist party, led by Moscow, had been assigned the task to prevent by all means the resurrection of a free, independent, democratic socialistic trade union in Italy."

But the picture is not all black from the point of view of working class emancipation. Marxism and its corollary, international Socialism, are kept thriving through the work of the Socialist Labor Party of America. That work must and shall be continued until the workers of the world organize for, and succeed in effecting, the Socialist reconstruction of society.

In accordance with that aim, the Socialist Labor Party, in National Convention assembled, in the City of New York, on May 3, 1948, reaffirms again its allegiance to the cause of the workers of the world and to the principles of international Socialism, as laid down by Marx, Engels and De Leon, and reiterates its clear-cut adherence to the international class-struggle principle as enunciated by Daniel De Leon and previous resolutions by National Conventions of the Party and endorsed by its membership. Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Socialist Labor Party condemn the false internationalism of the fraudulent "Communist" and Social Democratic movements that caused, and that continue to cause, so much harm to the workers, and warn the workers of the world against the present and any future attempts to revive the false internationalism of the Stalinists and of the non-Russian Stalinist reform-politicians; and be it further

Resolved, That the Socialist Labor Party reaffirm its belief in the value of international organization, when the growth of sound Marxian movements in the various countries makes such organization possible and feasible; and be it finally

Resolved, That the Socialist Labor Party of America extend fraternal greetings to exploited workers everywhere, in renewed affirmation of international working class solidarity and of unfaltering adherence to the ideals and principles of Socialism, and of unshaken faith in the early realization of the universal Brotherhood of Man.

X

Resolution on the Ballot

The right to a full and free ballot was never so important to the workers of America as it is today. This is true even though the vote in America for the still unawakened majority of workers merely represents a chance to vote for or against capitalist politicians who aspire to office. The vote, the free untrammeled vote, has an importance that far transcends the "one-day-a-year" manifestation of "democracy" it has become under capitalism.

In the use of the ballot by an aroused and classconscious working class lies the only hope for a peaceful solution to our complex social problem. The revolutionary

American ballot provides the machinery for abolishing the present form of political State government peacefully. The revolutionary American ballot paves the way for the establishment of the democratic Socialist Industrial Union government by an industrially organized working class.

For whenever the workers—the overwhelming majority — should decide to end the war- and poverty-breeding system of capitalism and to establish in its place a Socialist society of peace, abundance and freedom, they can, so long as the ballot remains free, demand the change at the ballot box. It must remain free and enforceable, or all is lost.

But recent years have witnessed an assault against the ballot that has grown to alarming proportions. In state after state capitalist politicians have put into effect restrictions that are making it next to impossible for minority parties to qualify for a place on the ballot. If unchecked, these unconstitutional restrictions eventually would make it impossible to submit questions involving fundamental social changes to the peaceful test of the ballot box.

Thus we see the ruling class desperately resorting to every means in an attempt to prolong its system of class rule, power and privileges. While pretending to denounce the resort to physical force and the violent overthrow of government, in practice it is actually denying present minorities the means for achieving, in orderly and civilized fashion, the stature of a majority party. In so doing, it provides the soil in which seeds of disorders, anarchy and violence germinate, sprout and grow.

In view of the foregoing, the Socialist Labor Party of America, in convention assembled in the City of New York, on May 3, 1948, calls upon the workers and upon all other forward-looking citizens—

1. To stand with us in demanding that these unconstitutional attempts to restrict the right to vote be ended;

2. To guard zealously their right to a free and untrammeled ballot by joining with us in demanding a return of full suffrage in those states that have already adopted restrictive legislation; and, finally

3. To cast their votes for the Socialist Labor Party, demanding the end of the system of capitalism, whose supporters and beneficiaries, on the one hand, boast of the "democratic way of life," while on the other they are busily engaged in abridging the Constitution, and removing all vestiges of democracy, in order further to prolong their wage slave system.

In calling upon the workers and other forward-looking citizens to do these things, we warn them that to do nothing is to invite the loss of all liberty. We remind them of the words of the great champion of democracy, Abraham Lincoln: "Let them [the workingmen] beware of surrendering a political power they already possess, and which, if surrendered, will surely be used to close the door of advancement against such

as they, and to fix new disabilities and burdens upon them till all of liberty shall be lost." (Annual message to Congress, 1864.)

XI

Speech of Acceptance of Edward A. Teichert

Our nation is drifting toward a military despotism under which the vast working class population will be reduced to industrial serfs. This trend is inevitable for the reason that, with ever developing industry, the working class not only increases in number and is concentrated into ever greater masses, but an ever greater part of these masses becomes a "surplus" on the labor market. It has been estimated that this "surplus," given "normal" conditions, will mount to 30,000,000 by 1980. To safeguard their position, the owners of the means of production must impose an ever firmer control on the working class, hence the trend toward industrial serfdom.

Socialism alone can prevent civilization from slipping into such a Dark Age. For Socialism will place the means of wealth production in the collective hands of all the people, who will manage them democratically through workers' councils elected from industry. And the only way Socialism can be established is for the workers to accept, and put into operation, the S.L.P. program.

I believe that only through acceptance of this program can the problems now facing us be solved and, as the Socialist Labor Party's candidate for President, I pledge myself to carry the Party's message to the workers to the best of my ability.

XII

Speech of Acceptance of Stephen Emery

The Socialist Labor Party has, since 1892, participated in many critical national campaigns. But never has our organization faced one so fateful as the campaign of 1948.

A social hurricane of terrifying proportions and fury is unmistakably on the way.

The storm may break either as a global economic collapse or as a suicidal war between the American and Stalinist imperialisms.

The one and the other threaten humanity with nameless horror and misery.

In the ranks of the exploiting capitalist class the portents of catastrophe are inducing a panic fear that manifests itself in the drive to impose a military and fascist despotism.

In the ranks of the exploited working class the signs of renewed depression and war are spreading a consciousness that the old order is dying and a new order crying for birth.

In the ranks of the Socialist Labor Party reside the Marxist and De Leonist principles that will bury the old world and bring forth the new.

Our duty is, therefore, clear. We must, in the coming months, promote the program of Socialist Industrial Unionism with the very last ounce of our resources.

As one of the Socialist Labor Party's standard-bearers in this historic campaign, I pledge my best efforts to propagate the Party's platform and program.

Socialist Labor Party Presidential Vote, 1948

Based on the official report issued by the Federal Government, as of January 29, 1949, with late reports from Missouri, New Mexico, Oregon and Rhode Island added

Arizona	121
California (write-in)	195
Colorado	214
Connecticut	1,184
Delaware	29
Illinois	3,118
Indiana	763
Iowa	4,274
Kentucky	185
Maine	206
Massachusetts	5,535
Michigan	1,263
Minnesota	2,525
Missouri, candidate for Governor	191
(write-in vote for Presidential candidate not counted)	
New Hampshire	83
New Jersey	3,354
New Mexico	49
New York	2,729
Oregon (write-in, incomplete)	41
Pennsylvania	1,461
Rhode Island	121
Virginia	234
Washington	1,133
Wisconsin	399
Wyoming	56
Total for Presidential candidate (excluding Missouri)	29,272

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